THE NEW REPUBLIC

Setting Up the Scapegoat

Who Will Be Blamed for Cuba?

Neutralism—Nasser Brand

Elizabeth Monroe

The Hurt of the Irish

Patrick O'Donovan

What's My Line?

John Cogley

March 13, 1961, 25 ce.

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T.R.B. from Washington

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★ *NYTimesman* Drew Middleton, in Northern Rhodesia, comments mournfully on Mennen Williams' "Africa for the Africans" statement – "What is fairly clear is that the US is making enemies where friends once abounded." *Timesman* Leonard Ingalls, from Kenya, sadly agrees.

Curiously enough in next day's *Sunday Times* magazine, C. L. Sulzberger has a piece headlined: "To Change Their Image of US – the world's impression of America and its ideals has become dulled by time and platitude; we should affirm our revolutionary heritage of freedom and equality." Kennedy, be it noted, firmly backs Williams.

The fact is, changing images will make a lot of colonialists, abroad and at home, unhappy! And lest you think all Englishmen denounce Williams the respected *Economist* (London) says, "It is certainly too soon to condemn his appointment as 'folly' and an 'insult' as the Republicans are doing."

Competition – Sometimes

★ TVA was set up as a "yardstick" for big business and big business hates it. Eisenhower loved business and called TVA "creeping socialism." TVA kept getting identical bids from the big electrical companies and turned the facts over to the Justice Department. As a result of antitrust suits thus inspired, the guilty-pleading industry has now had $2 million in fines slapped on it, and several $100,000-a-year GE and Westinghouse vice presidents are currently drawing fat salaries in jail.

Is this all there is to it? The TVA now discloses that it has received identical bids from five aluminum and two cement companies. GE's bleeding-heart executive, Ralph Cordiner, has resigned as chairman of the Commerce Department's Business Advisory Council but intends to stay on as head of GE. After all he didn't know what was going on, did he – so why should he suffer? He doesn't know whether or not to fire his guilty subordinates and is going to put that up to a referendum of GE stockholders. Fortunately the Kefauver anti-monopoly committee is going to investigate the whole mess, including (we hope) the singularly obtuse Cordiner.

Is the public really angry over this, or does it just shrug its shoulders? We know now what "administered prices" are; they are rigged monopolist prices that don't respond to competition. They help inflation by keeping living costs high. Business says it is against inflation, business says it favors private enterprise. But, as Federal Judge Ganey said, "what is really at stake here is the survival of the kind of economy under which this country has grown great, the free enterprise system."

When Jimmy Hoffa misbehaved the AFL-CIO threw him out. Since the GE-Westinghouse convictions we haven't heard a peep from NAM or US C of C. They just hate TVA more than ever.

Patriotism at $100 per

★ Sixty-three of 64 students arrested in the House Un-American Activities riot in San Francisco May 13 were dismissed; one, Rovert Meisenbach, 22, stands trial this week. The HUAC probably can start a riot any time it wants from now on as it did before. Episcopalian, Quaker, Unitarian, Jewish pastors urged it to stay away, as did labor councils and student groups. It came, sending in to investigate subversion Rep. Edwin Willis (D, La.), who himself preaches defiance of the US Supreme Court on integration. The HUAC and Communists work together, they are what biologists call symbiotic. When students rioted both HUAC and Reds cashed in on the publicity. The HUAC subpoenaed motion picture riot films from local stations without pay, turned them over free to a small local Washington studio which pasted them up, often with sequences reversed, into a committee-sponsored show, *Operation Abolition*. With inflammatory commentary by committee chairman Francis Walter (D, Pa.) and committee analyst Fulton Lewis III, son of the announcer, the local studio vends the product at $100 a print.

Why has the national board of the Council of Churches just warned against this film? Because it is admittedly inaccurate and distorted. When charged with this in a taped debate, committee investigator William Wheeler frankly agreed. "All right, we've admitted that," he said impatiently. "Let's go on to another subject."

The HUAC has so far subpoenaed only 6 of 40 alleged Communists whose names it released in the Bay area. It stirred one demented mind so deeply against "Reds" that the student senselessly murdered a fellow-student and blew part of the jaw off a professor. He was declared legally insane last week.

The Church Against the President

★ During the campaign the Vatican reasserted the Church's right to control Catholics in politics (in another country), and the bishops of Puerto Rico declared it a mortal sin to vote for Governor Muñoz Marin, who advocates birth control and neutral public schools. Puerto Ricans paid little attention to them. Here in Washington last week, top prelates of the Church announced they would fight Kennedy's education bill unless it included low-interest loans to private (parochial) schools. In the same week Kennedy unequivocally reaffirmed opposition to any federal aid.

This column believed it was a good thing that the Protestant monopoly on the White House was broken in 1960. We were satisfied Kennedy would speak after the election the way he did before. He has. We think Al Smith would have done the same. But the burden under which a Catholic President labors because of the hierarchy is evident. In this case it is possible that rather than not get what Kennedy, and most Americans, think is unconstitutional it will block any education bill at all. Will this really aid the Church?

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The Peace Corps

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Exporting Boy Scouts to the boondocks is not the purpose of the Peace Corps. The principal aim is not to brighten the "image" of America in a Nigerian village, but, as the President said in his message to Congress, to help in "the vast task of economic development." Thus, one must first ask what the United States can best do to forward progress in the developing countries.

One Indian answer was given on February 26 by H. R. Vohra, Washington correspondent of *The Times of India*. Voicing skepticism about the Peace Corps in *The Washington Post*, Mr. Vohra said that "there is, of course, much to do in India and elsewhere . . . [but] there is no shortage of manpower. What we lack is the tools, the capital and specialized knowledge in certain spheres of life. That is not what American young men can impart." The criticism is not entirely fair. The words "skills" or "skilled" appear eight times in the President's Peace Corps message. There is, for example, a special need for English-language teachers, notably in Africa, in countries which lack a substantial educated elite. The Central African Federation alone might employ some 300 of the Peace Corpsmen recruited in the first years to break a bottleneck in secondary education.

But it is not the vocation of Americans in great numbers and on any regular basis over the years to go to the grassroots in Africa, Latin America or Asia to do what citizens of those countries will in the end do better (or not do, if that is the state of things) under their own national steam. In addition to lending large-scale development capital, the US can be most useful by increasing technical and financial support of training programs which help stimulate the growth of skilled indigenous leadership. This has been the lesson of the most effective village programs backed by American foundations. It is difficult enough for the public-spirited educated Indonesian to communicate with the provincial sector of his own society. The difficulty is compounded for the foreigner who must leap a wider gap.

The Peace Corps planners are not indifferent to these reservations. They are modest in their plans, if not in their longer-range hopes. They are giving sophisticated attention to the experience of the many private groups who for years have sent volunteers abroad. They appreciate that there are many areas where a single woman will be looked upon with some suspicion, if not outrage, and they are considering the desirability of sending young married couples, though the special Presidential study prepared by a Colorado State University

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team inexplicably urges the restriction of Peace Corps opportunities to a "limited number" of couples.

The Peace Corps director, R. Sargent Shriver, observed in his report to the President that the presence of spirited outsiders can set an example abroad, for in many countries, "the educated young people cannot be persuaded to return to the villages or to do manual labor. The presence of US Peace Corps volunteers may challenge them to undertake this essential work and contribute to the spirit of national service needed for the mobilization of the host country's full human resources." Perhaps that worthy result will occur, yet broadly speaking it is not for this country to say what is or is not essential work elsewhere, or to supply transfusions of national will. While it is all to the good if the Peace Corps promotes a consciousness of the dignity of labor, this must be viewed as an incidental byproduct.

Possibly the greatest dilemma confronting Peace Corps planners is that the skilled persons most needed may not necessarily be those "with the dedication to put that capacity to work in the villages, the mountains, the towns and the factories of dozens of struggling nations." Though the enthusiastic response to the President's appeal has shown that not all Americans of college age are security-hobbled, how many of these volunteers will measure up to the high recruiting standards a successful Corps requires? In his special report to the President, Max F. Millikan, Director of the Center of International Studies at MIT, suggested that the program begin "with no more than a few hundred members employed on tasks now known to be clearly vital to the recipient countries." Yet Peace Corps staff members had plans for several thousand recruits in the first year, and it was the President himself, one learns, who cut this down to a hope "to have between 500 and 1,000 people in the field by the end of this year." But even 500 may be too many. Mr. Millikan properly warns that "a few dramatic failures in the early pilot stages could do irreparable harm . . ."

The Kennedy Administration has got off to a good start in clarifying US attitudes toward neutralism and colonialism. But the future of our economic relations with the developing countries is still uncertain, and however auspiciously the Peace Corps begins, its effect on those relations can only be minimal. The week in which the President told the people of the Peace Corps was the week in which the House Appropriations Committee threw out his first request for the money with which to carry out our foreign economic policy, refusing to vote a dollar of the $150 million in emergency funds (the sum cut out of the appropriation last summer) needed by the Development Loan Fund. Here is where the shoe is pinching, and here is where Congress offered no relief.

The Peace Corps will introduce young Americans to the realities of their world – Americans who will return to their communities and pass on some of what they have learned so that the American people may in turn learn that progress cannot be had on the cheap. The Peace Corps will also demonstrate that some Americans are not ugly; it can train a cadre of international public servants who in later years can be highly valuable to government and private associations; it can give invaluable experience to a few individuals who yearn to be of service. But so far as the developing countries are concerned, the test of our friendship is not whether we are willing to send them our evangelical youth but whether we are willing to send our capital, so that they may as rapidly as possible create for themselves an affluence comparable to ours.

Controversy Over Cotton

On the last day of February, Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, who knows something about textiles from first-hand experience as a businessman, told his press conference that the government was "destroying a basic industry" by its policy of heightening the price of American raw cotton. What he meant was that the higher the price at which US cotton is supported by the government, the greater the disadvantage under which the domestic textile industry must operate. This is because of the two-price system: Under the support price (33c a pound) announced by Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman the week before, foreign textile manufacturers will be able to buy American raw cotton for 25 percent less than will our domestic mills. The difference between the price to American mills and the lower world market price for which that cotton is sold abroad (24½ cents a pound) is made up by the US Government. Mr. Hodges refused to blame his colleague at the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman. Existing law, he said, did not allow Mr. Freeman to "let his left hand know what his right hand is doing."

What Mr. Freeman said in the previous week when he released the price support and subsidy figures was that they would be completely satisfactory to nobody. He was right. For example, representatives of US cotton growers had "expected," in the trade press, that he would set the support figure for the domestic raw staple at around 40c a pound, which would have been more satisfactory to the cotton growers but less satisfactory to the manufacturers of cotton goods. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have come into the picture with a threat to boycott the production of men's suits from imported textiles after May 1. The American Cotton Manufacturers Institute has issued a call for stringent protection, "import quotas by country and by category." Further, suit producers have set up a "Men's Clothing Industry Import Committee," de-

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scribed as an *Operation Survival* with a million dollar war chest, and an understanding with the organizers of the clothing workers' boycott.

The President, in an effort to protect the national interest from dismemberment by varieties of special interests, has set up a Cabinet-level industry committee of which the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, George W. Ball, and the Secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and Labor are members.

Two and a half months ago, the trade gossip column of one of the most widely-read business publications in the country hinted that "subsidized exports of cotton boomerang on US mills and growers and Uncle Sam." That was more a cry of apprehension than a statement of fact: US cotton *exports* rose about 150 percent in the last marketing year. At the same time, however, US *imports* of manufactured cotton goods also rose. On net balance, the domestic textile industry was hurt. For the first time, imports of cotton textile products exceeded exports by about 10 percent. The response of domestic cotton textile manufacturers was their appeal last month for rigid quota controls on imports. They could not understand why "our federal government . . . sits idly by and permits the vampire of foreign imports to suck the life-blood of the textile industry."

But it is not the textile industry which is in most trouble, it is the clothing industry. According to the Union, about 25,000 workers have lost jobs because of imports of made-up clothing. Foreign manufacturers of clothing have the advantage of lower-cost labor as well as of cheaper cotton. That is why the union and the industry are in cahoots to force a protectionist policy. *Operation Survival* has not only led to the announcement of an imminent boycott of Japanese textiles by men's clothing workers (there is some doubt whether this will ever come off because of legal difficulties), but to a notable declaration on international trade policy by the executive council of the AFL-CIO on February 26. The key statement in the AFL-CIO pronouncement is that US trade policy should "aim at safeguarding absolute historic levels of production in significant domestic industries, so that competitive imports will not depress US production and jobs in that industry below their historic norm." This is followed by the somewhat bewildering qualification that the protection of such absolute historic levels *may* be modified when there is an "effective trade adjustment program." Since labor has consistently supported the removal of barriers to international trade over the past 25 years, this hint of a change, particularly at a time when a liberal trade policy is under heavier attack by industrial groups than at any point since the end of World War II, is a serious matter.

The clothing workers have a grievance. They export very little made-up men's clothing; whatever comes into this country bites into their primary market. Moreover, labor is in danger of becoming redundant in an industry increasingly mechanized, and the unions are tied to contracts forbidding any obstruction of automation. Likewise, the domestic clothing manufacturers have a grievance, although there may be some dispute over the size of it. (Imports of men's suits from all foreign sources combined – including custom-tailored outfits from Saville Row – were only about two-tenths of one percent of domestic production last year.) But the manufacturers complain that cotton mill workers in Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, India and Pakistan are far more willing than American workers to put up with the monotony, the humidity and the fuzz of cotton mills. When to this advantage, foreign manufacturers can add what amounts to a discount on what they pay for raw cotton, particularly when it is made up locally into clothing for export, remedial measures are called for.

But the first of these remedies must be a resolution by the friends of the small farmer, the garment worker, the clothing manufacturer and the textile industry to eschew "absolute historic levels of production" and, it should be added, specific employment, if in the interests of the economic advancement of the free world, changes of occupation and industry, *under adequate safeguards* are required of them.

Foreign trade is a form of communication at least as important as the exchange of words. To maintain it on a vigorous level, American products must be priced competitively in foreign markets, and we must be willing to accept imports when they are not. We will not have a free world for long, if it is only free to talk.

Un-American Activities

Sitting in Atlanta in the summer of 1958, a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee called Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden and asked if they were Communists. Both refused to answer on emphatically asserted grounds that the Committee was without lawful authority to ask them that question. A sorely divided Supreme Court last week held that both must go to jail, because the law is not as they thought. The Committee had authority to ask the question, since it is empowered to inform itself and the Congress and the public about Communism and Communist activities, in order to lay the groundwork for legislation or, indeed, for a possible decision not to legislate.

Yet it needs no very sophisticated penetration to reach the confident judgment that the Un-American Acivities Committee in this instance was not seeking to inform itself, or otherwise discharging a legitimate function. It was engaged in punishing two witnesses by exposure and humiliation, as it has often and effectively punished other citizens who have displeased it.

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Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Braden had transgressed, respectively, by advocating abolition of the Committee and by opposing federal legislation to reactivate state sedition statutes struck down by the Supreme Court some year ago in the case of *Pennsylvania v Nelson*. In the Wilkinson case, the Committee's insufficiently notorious staff director, Mr. Arens, himself admitted quite enough to demonstrate the Committee's true purpose. As Mr. Justice Black remarked in dissent, the evidence that the Committee was out to punish may not be absolutely conclusive, but it is overwhelming.

And there's the rub. Evidence of motive can never be conclusive. Motives are nearly always mixed and hardly ever professed. This should not paralyze the function of political judgment, which so often comes to rest on an imprecise balance of felt needs as against apprehended dangers, and which necessarily and always involves rough classifications of men, causes, aims and motives. Hence one may be satisfied, on the overwhelming evidence, to use Mr. Justice Black's word, that the Committee customarily embarks on punitive expeditions which abuse its power, and that it did so this time. One may conclude that the evil this Committee does far outweighs any legislative good, and that it should be abolished. And one may regret that the House last week voted to renew the Committee's appropriation ($331,000) by a vote of 412-6. But the Supreme Court of the United States does not sit to strike such political balances.

All this having been said, it remains extremely unfortunate that the Court should have decided the Wilkinson and Braden cases as it did and as it also decided the case of Lloyd Barenblatt a year and half ago. For in doing so, the Court failed to discharge a function which is far removed from the impossible morass of motive, and which is well within the Court's institutional competence. The question the Court should have asked and that Mr. Justice Douglas alone even among the dissenters emphasized, was not may Congress authorize such an investigation as that of Wilkinson and Braden, but has *Congress* done so. Congress, it will be seen, has not. This was one of the decisive points in the 1957 case of *Watkins v US*, which went against the Un-American Activities Committee, and it should have been decisive now.

The Committee exercises power as a delegate of the House of Representatives. Its members and its staff have no more of a direct national mandate than does the Federal Communications Commission or a special assistant to the Third Assistant Postmaster General. The Committee's charter, now some 19 years-old, authorizes investigation of "un-American propaganda." This means either everything, to be defined at the Committee's will, or nothing. "It would be difficult," said the Court in *Watkins*, "to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution." In a precisely relevant phrase of the late Justice Cardozo's, this is delegation running riot. It is not for the Court to control the investigating power of Congress in accordance with what it surmises to be the Congressional motive. But it is the Court's function to police the lines of responsibility in the federal government, and to see to it that power is neither usurped from, nor abandoned by, the responsible institutions. In this instance, the Court should have recalled the House to the exercise of *its* duty of control.

Nkrumah's Visit

The President's invitation to President Nkrumah to come to the White House for a talk about the Congo and other matters during the Ghanaian leader's visit to the United Nations this week is consistent with Mr. Kennedy's inaugural pledge: "We shall not always expect to find [neutral states] supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom. . . ." What is puzzling, given this, is that influential sections of the press should describe the invitation as a "difficult decision" by the White House. If this Administration's policy is, as the President has stated and Ambassador Stevenson's sensitive and ingenious behind-the-scenes work in New York confirms, a flexible one of constant exploration and encouragement of a neutral solution in the Congo based on an Afro-Asian consensus, it is axiomatic that we must establish an open and trustful relationship with all elements of the political spectrum.

For reasons which are not entirely clear, the American press has become obsessed in recent months with President Nkrumah's deficiencies and patronizing toward his unfulfilled ambitions. What purpose does this serve? If we are honest about helping Africa to find itself without trying to squeeze it into any particular Western-dictated mold, then surely Dr. Nkrumah should be fully acceptable "as is." He is a rational, highly literate statesman with unquestioned popular support in his own country; he is a member of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council and a fervent advocate of "African solutions" to African problems. He was supporting Lumumba long before the Soviet Union stepped onto the bandwagon, and not because they did. It is nonsense to observe resignedly, as one Washington newspaper did this weekend, that "Mr. Kennedy decided that it would be useful to meet Nkrumah since he is rated as the only person in his country with whom to do business." What we will only belatedly realize apparently is that the Nkrumahs and Nassers *are* moderates in the African context; a close look at Ghana's internal politics these days must elicit admiration for the skill with which President Nkrumah is moderating extremist pressures within his own government.

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The primary task of the Administration at this stage is to convince the leading neutral states that we are not trying to impose our will – or, more precisely, Belgium's will – on the Congo. It must be recognized that, both in Accra and Cairo, there is a deeply-rooted belief that the US "betrayed" true African nationalism in the Congo – that Lumumba was "delivered to his enemies" under the flag of the United Nations, and that the Western powers were responsible for a "UN sponsored, anti-neutralist coup" there. It is primarily out of this disillusionment with the West, not because of ideological considerations, that the neutralist states temporarily lost faith in the UN and have seemed to align themselves so closely with the Soviet Union.

Nehru's new support of the UN operation, backed up by an unprecedented Indian offer to contribute a brigade of combat troops to the operation (though only to maintain order – not to interfere in factional fights!) is evidence that an exploratory US policy, based on a minimum of revealed truth is more productive in this Afro-Asian world than one of standing fast on rigid premises. These promising developments, combined with the news that Antoine Gizenga, leader of the pro-Lumumba forces, has agreed to attend the roundtable meeting of Congolese politicians in the Malgache Republic, suggest that the Congo may yet return to its rightful place in the back pages of our newspapers. Much of the bloodshed now going on is the result of fear and misunderstanding on the part of the Congolese troops, who do not know what the UN is trying to do to them; this is negotiable.

"You Guys Still Here?"

Toward a Test Ban

In the wake of the U-2 flight and in the decline before the fall of the Eisenhower Administration, the Russians cut many lines of communication with Washington. But they left open the one in Geneva where talks continued on terms of a treaty to end nuclear testing. Now, after a brief recess, the discussions between the US, UK and USSR resume on March 21, and the President says he is "hopeful" they will succeed.

The Americans and the British appear to have settled whatever minor disagreements they had, and both are in a mood to get this business settled within three months. Differences with the Russians over the number of permissible on-site inspections or the staffing of control posts are not now thought to be irreconcilable.

For the Russians, the great fear has been that inspection and control would be a cover for foreign espionage. The West, on the other hand, has feared that although above-ground tests are relatively easy to monitor unilaterally and require no elaborate inspection machinery, smaller underground tests might be conducted by the Russians during the one- or two- or three-year unpoliced moratorium while joint studies were underway to refine detection techniques and to apply them. Each side must make its own balance sheet of risks.

To be hopeful that a treaty will be agreed to (and will pass muster in the US Senate) is to make certain assumptions. It must be assumed, for example, that the Communist Chinese will string along with a ban, because the Russians urge them to and because the Chinese are not in a position to expend the huge sums required to develop their own nuclear enterprise. It must also be assumed that the Russians are not seriously disturbed about the possibility of an independent French capability. (The West Germans are another matter.) One must also believe that the Russians have concluded there is little to gain and much to lose by "cheating": it would be costly and difficult to test in secret without arousing the suspicion of the inspectors, and no treaty could survive the weight of cumulative suspicion.

Finally, since what worries the world is not merely the hazards to health in continued testing but rather the hazards of uncontrolled manufacture and distribution of nuclear weapons themselves, one must assume that if a ban is formally established, the present nuclear powers will continue to feel that it is in their self-interest not to place these weapons in the hands of other countries.

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Creeping Corruption

Dr. Kenneth McFarland, educational consultant to General Motors, that is to say a press agent with a PhD, offers further documentation for Jenkinson's Law ("Everybody's crazy"). "A discouraging lack of basic integrity in the country has swept even to the highest levels," he told the Denver Better Business Bureau. "The conviction and jailing of executives from the nation's eight largest electrical firms gave big business a black eye."

Who would have thought that the big price-fixing criminal conspiracy uncovered and proved by the government in the case to which the good doctor has reference, originated not in the minds of corporate management, but in a corruption of 179 million Americans so pervasive it finally overwhelmed the virginal peaks.

Meriwether of Alabama

On this New Frontier, Meriwether and Clark are not the podners their 18th Century namesakes were. The 5-to-4 vote of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee approving the confirmation of Charles Minor Meriwether as a member of the board of the Export-Import Bank found Sen. Joseph Clark, though absent, voting by proxy in the negative, along with Senators Proxmire, Neuberger and Javits; the votes of Senators Robertson, Sparkman, Blakley, Bennett and Bush were sufficient to take the name to the Senate floor.

The abstention of Senators Douglas and Muskie (had they no opinion!) and the participation of Senator Sparkman in this vote, as well as the President's willingness to send up the nomination in the first place, displayed a deference to crude political power. For Charles Meriwether was the campaign manager in 1958 for Governor Patterson of Alabama, and Governor Patterson early announced his support of the Kennedy candidacy. Mr. Meriwether's other qualifications are scarce. Correspondents noticed the speed with which the President, when asked at his weekly news conference, "Is there anything in this man's background that might embarrass your Administration," shot back the clipped reply, "No, I have sent Mr. Meriwether's name up after reading the FBI report" – and invited another question.

Mr. Meriwether managed the 1950 Senatorial campaign of the white-supremacy racist Admiral John Crommelin against Sen. Lister Hill, and while he claims to have later broken with the Admiral in disapproval of his 1954 race against Senator Sparkman, he testified that he took support for the Patterson candidacy for Governor from whatever source it was available, which included the support from R. M. Shelton, generally believed to be a grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Democrat who is being displaced to accommodate Mr. Meriwether in the Export-Import Bank, Mr. George Blowers, board member since 1955, is well-informed on African affairs; Mr. Meriwether, for the last decade, has been exclusively concerned with Alabama politics. The Senate could serve the public best by denying him confirmation. The most hopeful comment possible on the appointment is to recall that Maxwell H. Gluck, assigned by President Eisenhower as Ambassador to Ceylon though he was unaware of the name of that country's prime minister, subsequently learned to spell Bandaranaike.

SIGNS OF A CONCILIATORY MOOD IN EAST GERMANY

Ulbricht's "Soft Phase"

Bonn

In mid-February the East Germans announced a reduction of restrictions on the movement of people between West and East Berlin – restrictions which had been introduced in September, 1960. In the future, West Germans wanting to enter East Berlin need only ask for a "day-pass" from the control-posts of the People's Police along the sector boundary. Formerly, they had been sent from these control-posts to East German Ministries where they applied for a pass. They then had to return to the control-post with a written authorization officially permitting their entry.

In mid-February, too, the East Germans made the passage of goods by truck between West Berlin and the Federal Republic very much easier. Hitherto trucks have been subjected to searching scrutiny at either end of the 105-mile-long *autobahn* from Helmstedt to Berlin and on the three other roads connecting Berlin and the West. Now the trucks can be sealed after one examination; they can, for instance, drive straight through from Helmstedt to West Berlin, or from

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Babelsberg – on the outskirts of Berlin – to the West.

In mid-February, again, the authorities indicated that they might be prepared to discuss the lifting, or at least the lowering of tolls on West German and West Berlin barges using East German canals. These were first imposed two and a half years ago. A year later they were sharply increased, on the flimsy grounds that the West Germans were building a dam on the Elbe and that dykes might have to be constructed on East German soil in order to prevent flooding. These dykes, the East German government maintained at the time, might cost "even" 50 million marks. The canal tolls have now produced over 60 million marks for the East German Ministry of Finance.

The obvious explanation for what is called here the new "soft phase" in East Germany is that – as usual – Moscow has ordered it, and that the Soviet Government hopes to impress President Kennedy with its more conciliatory version of peaceful coexistence. At the end of January the head of the East German Council of State and Socialist Unity Party, Walter Ulbricht, made a statement which deserved more attention than it received. In it he said that his government would support that of the Soviet Union in its "quest to safeguard peace," which might "even mean cooperating with the Adenauer regime and with the West German capitalists, if they are prepared to do so too." Herr Ulbricht's speech came only a week or two before Mr. Khrushchev sent Chancellor Adenauer a letter which positively radiated goodwill – although expressing it only in general terms and giving no indication of any change in the Soviet Union's German policies.

But conciliatory gestures in the Berlin area are only one part of the "soft phase." Herr Ulbricht is not neglecting the East Germans themselves. In December and January several thousand inmates of prisons were released, following the promulgation of an official "amnesty." On February 20 the East Germans set free Siegfried Schmutzler, an Evangelical pastor who had been imprisoned in April, 1957, for alleged perversion of East German youth by inciting them against their rulers. Schmutzler's real "crime" was to warn young people against atheistic doctrines sponsored officially by the Ulbricht regime.

Likewise in February, the East Germans began to speak of treating youth with greater "understanding." They are no longer to be discouraged from listening to "decadent" Western jazz, or wearing blue jeans and other items of Western dress. The needs of the young have become a subject for open discussion in radio and television round-table forums; it has been surprising to hear East Germans voicing – although somewhat hesitantly – demands for more dances in villages and small towns, more music "which people like" and more new films. It is in line with this new deference to youth that Ulbricht has promised to build more stadiums and ski-jumps in the Thuringian mountains.

Possibly a more important concession to the young people was the decision, made in January, to cease dragooning them into joining the Communist "Free German Youth" organization. The character of this organization is, indeed, going to be changed to a marked degree. Not only are fewer young people over the age of 14 (before that they belong to the much less ideological "Young Pioneers") going to be forced to join the Free German Youth; but the usual leaving-age has been advanced from 26 to 22. The regime has become aware that too many had joined merely as a precaution, to make sure there would be no obstacle to taking their examinations and finding places in secondary schools and universities. The regime realized, too, that just half of the 200,000 East Germans who sought refuge in the Federal Republic last year were under 25.

Not only the youth has been accorded more "understanding"; this January the medical profession had its first "Doctors Ball." The accounts of it that appeared in East German newspapers were naïve: the 1,000 guests, they recounted, came in "good suits," dinner jackets, with even a few tail-coats. The women were "elegantly" dressed. There was a cabaret and a display of People's Democratic women's fashions by mannequin's. There was even some distinctly hot music to round off this most unusual "bourgeois" occasion.

It would seem from all this that Ulbricht intends to build for himself (rather late in the day) a reputation as a benign "father of his people." He is promising more consumer goods in the shops, more vegetables in the market-places. He is urging the East German press to print news and views in a "brighter" manner. He is launching a program for more holiday resorts. He even allowed the inhabitants of one town to keep its old name, Guben, along with its new one, "Wilhelm Pieck Town" (after the late East German President).

The West German Government has pointed out that these moves are very similar to those which took place just before the uprising in East Germany in June, 1953. Then, too, the Communist regime was full of promises and "understanding." But this "soft phase" was followed by the raising of work-norms and an intensive drive to increase industrial production. In 1953, the regime immensely strengthened its frontier defenses, and it is a curious coincidence that in February West German frontier guards reported that nearly 100 new towers and other observation-posts were erected on the other side of the interzonal frontier. It would be too much to hope for a real liberalization of Communist rule in East Germany; it is more likely that everything which has been done is in preparation for the test of strength which will take place in Germany when Khrushchev decides that Kennedy will pursue much the same sort of German policy as his predecessor.

Terence Prittie

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Neutralism—the Nasser Brand

by Elizabeth Monroe

Anyone is entitled to be baffled by President Nasser's conception of neutrality. His swerves now to one side, now to the other of the middle course that he says he is pursuing puzzle even Egyptians. For instance, within the last two months he has ordered a new roundup of Egypt's Communists, yet on Lumumba's death he allowed Cairo (where demonstrations are strictly controlled) to stage one of the biggest of the attacks on Belgian embassies that Communist Parties synchronized all over the world. And the Belgians promptly severed diplomatic relations. More significantly, he has alternated between impetuously ordering the withdrawal of Egypt's UN contingent from the Congo (January), and soberly sponsoring a Security Council resolution in favor of UN intervention there, including the use of force "as a last resort" (February). Blowing first hot and then cold is not everyone's synonym for neutralism.

At least, so the Ambassadors of Canada and Pakistan thought when, independently, they recently pursued a Cairo rumor that Nasser was leaning too far to the Left for the taste of some of his closest henchmen. They inquired officially how matters stood. The Egyptian response was immediate, and was made public. An inspired article in Cairo's leading newspaper (*Al Ahram* of January 27) blazoned the doctrine. Egypt, it said, was as neutral as India. Departure from the sphere of Western influence did not entail entry into the sphere of any other bloc. Further, Egypt's neutrality was positive, meaning nationalist and it was domestically reformist and egalitarian. "Positive neutrality is not opportunism."

"Nasser," the article continued, "is a symbol of the will of the nation and the echo of its voice," but a point that was passed over in silence is that he personally is seeking a positive – indeed, a dashing – role also in foreign policy, and aspiring to leadership first in the Arab world (where he has had some rebuffs and has made only limited progress) and more lately in Africa south of the Sahara. So long as the Cold War lasts, any neutral leader who seeks to better his standing outside his own frontiers is virtually bound to act in ways that seem both opportunist and like taking sides. This fact of life becomes obvious to anyone who tries to devise a list of Nasser's preoccupations at any moment. To list the top three: the craving for leadership among the uncommitted nations, the wish to thwart and curb Israel, and the determination to oust all vestiges of Western control from Africa in order to make room for African management. The chief reason why his neutralism so often looks unneutral is that active pursuit of any of the three objectives brings him into conflict with the West, owing to the West's very presence in the arenas where he hopes to shine. Imperialism may be shaky, but the marks of its passage still balk his first ambition – French marks in North Africa, British ones in Ghana and Nigeria, and so on.

As to Israel, his anti-Western temper rises as he watches its atomic energy plant going up in hush-hush security conditions not far from his frontier – a development which he ascribes to French expertise and US money. His resentment against the Israelis, whom he describes as the "tools of French and British imperialism," swells when he contemplates their successful drive for trade and adviserships in West Africa. Lastly, each move he makes to rid Africa of direct Western imperialism – moves against France in Algeria, Belgium in Katanga, Britain in the Horn of Africa, or against use of the Sahara for nuclear experiments – are not only bound to be anti-Western but are also likely to be in line with Soviet policy. And so, in many Western eyes, he becomes a pink, if not a red.

But closer scrutiny shows that his alignment with Soviet Russia is far from complete. There is a difference of aim. Where the Soviets see no objection to sowing lawlessness provided it makes trouble for the capitalists, Nasser hopes to keep the Cold War out of Africa. In this sense, he is a neutral pure. Analysis of his acts suggests that they are contradictory only in the terms of the Cold War – terms in which we are too apt exclusively to think; and that they become logical, even if impetuous to a fault, when studied in the light of his own ambitions.

As he sees the scene, the West is entrenched in Africa (bad) and the Soviet Union is not (good). He is content to let the Russians catch up with the West in realms of commerce or advice, but not to let them win political footholds. As soon as there is a risk that they will arm Congolese vassals, and split Africans into Communists and anti-Communists, he shifts balance and throws his weight onto the side of moderation and the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Fable and history are full of Nassers – from the sorcerer's apprentice to the pre-partition Poles who

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thought that they could manage forces greater than themselves, and were wrong. But President Nasser's chances of successful management are rather greater than theirs on account of the current change which is taking place in the distribution of power – a change due partly to the proliferation of new small states, but chiefly to the strange boon of a nuclear stalemate. In any situation short of world war, the power once wielded by the European imperialists has not been shared out between the successor giants; it has been fragmented. And Nasser is prominent among the competitors for the fragments.

The competition is hot. In keeping pace with it, he is bound to deviate from the dead center of neutrality; and, whatever his protestations to the contrary, opportunism is inevitable. But he will defeat his own ends if his deviations are all to one side of the line, and they are not likely to be so.

Lastly, there is a parochial and material reason that may help to steady his course. In the short run, he can look impressive to the new states he hopes to lead if he moves from conference to conference proposing, as he did at Casablanca in January, resolutions that they all applaud but that none of them is in a position to carry out. But in the longer run his quest for leadership is vain unless he can point to Egypt as an example of good management at home. In his awkward Syro-Egyptian parish, this is not easy. The unequal resources and economies of his two provinces are not smoothly marriageable, and population pressure dogs him in the Nile Valley. The temptation to distract attention by dabbling in international pyrotechnics is very great. But, unless he begins to withstand it, he cannot concentrate on the backyard business by which he will, in the end, stand or fall. In particular, he cannot create – as India has created, and Ghana, Nigeria and Morocco are on the way to creating – a climate that attracts foreign investment. This he must have. Nowadays, the borrowers who are doing best are getting it from both East and West. He is one of them, but needs more than he has had. He is a shrewd man and may see before long that, in order to attract substantial funds from both sources at once, the only course is not merely to be neutral, but to become dependably so.

Those Skilled Barbarians

by William Barry Furlong

To those who've endured an engineering education, as I have, it is clear that the major fault of our engineers is not that they don't know what Shakespeare and Shaw are all about but that they don't know what science and engineering are all about. They lack not simply a world culture but the common culture of their own profession.

Why? Because so very few persons in engineering are equipped to provide it. Except for a few great and creative minds, the broad and calcified cross-section of engineering instructors bring to the classroom an almost invincible ignorance of their field's culture and how to teach it. They know little about the world of men or the world of thought – and they care less. They've been taught to "do," not to "think." They teach methods, not meanings. As Jacques Barzun observed in *Teacher in America:* "Considered – somewhat unfairly – in the mass, science teachers may be said to contribute the greatest proportion of backward-looking, anti-intellectual, mechanic-minded members of the faculty." Is anybody doing anything about this?

At Massachusetts Institute of Technology, all students must take a two-year course in the Foundations of Western Civilization; after that most of them take up to half their courses in the humanities. At California Institute of Technology, at least 25 percent of all classroom time is devoted to the humanities. At Illinois Institute of Technology, a cooperative network has been set up with some 30 liberal arts colleges in the Midwest to provide three years of study in the humanities at the liberal arts college and two years of study in engineering at Illinois Tech. The student then emerges with a bachelor of arts degree from his liberal arts college and a bachelor of science degree from Illinois Tech. (By contrast, some engineering colleges slyly classify physical education and ROTC drills as "humanities" to inflate the scope of their attention to the non-engineering disciplines.)

Then what's wrong? Only two things: (1) it's tremendously time-consuming, and (2) it usually fails.

There's no reason to expect an engineering student to be any more enchanted by the works of Wycherly than, say, a student of 17th Century English would be

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William Barry Furlong, *as his article illustrates, is a renegade engineer.*

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by fluid mechanics. All we accomplish is exposure. The corners of their engineering minds – again with rare exceptions – remain unsullied. We've forced them to pay their "debt" to an allegedly humanistic society but they remain serenely unrehabilitated.

The results have tragi-comic overtones. Once a humanities professor asked our class to jot down what we considered the greatest work of art in history. For 10 or 15 panic-stricken minutes we sat in numbed silence; I conferred *sotto voce* with a neighbor and we decided to flip a coin over Beethoven's symphonies – we'd *heard* of Beethoven. He won Beethoven's Fifth and I chose the Seventh. The answer, we discovered, should have been *Don Giovanni;* no alternative was allowed. We were willing to accept the professor's dictates in such esoteric matters – but it was quite a while before my co-conspirator and I got rid of the impression that *Don Giovanni* was a painting.

Nor was this experience unique. In *Commonweal* some three years ago, Gerald Weales related his experience at an engineering college in New Jersey where the students preened themselves on their sophisticated knowledge of sex. He spent what he described as "a few fruitless weeks examining modern poetry" with them. ". . . I was secretly a little pleased," he wrote, "that they bore with patience the poets' concern with advancing age, religious conversion, and the aesthetics of writing poetry, propositions which seemed . . . fantastic to them."

In an examination of the subject, he tried to relieve the inquisitory grind by asking for an interpretation of Ogden Nash's "Reflections in Ice-Breaking" ("Candy is dandy/but liquor is quicker"). Though this was the first time the students had encountered the verse, Weales looked forward to the tide-like advance of titters that would mark their recognition of the droll lyric. "I waited and waited," he wrote. "There was no sudden laughter, no jubilant moment of recognition." Curious, he began pacing the aisles and glancing over "slightly-affronted shoulders" to read the answers offered by his students. One thought the verse offered advice on how to give parties; another thought it offered advice in how to entertain business prospects; a third said that it indicated how to make a stranger feel welcome. One student assured him that the verse taught that, as bad as candy is for the body, it is not nearly so vicious a killer as liquor. And finally one said that he found it "very amusing" but that he could not "imagine what it had to do with ice-breaking."

These same students, wrote Mr. Weales, "had not even the surface of political wisdom." Nor did their teachers. Weales relates the surprise of an engineering instructor who saw several of Mr. Weales' suggestions for themes (the morality of wiretapping, the idea of paid informers, and other then-current problems) which had been written on the blackboard.

"You men in the English Department are better off than the rest of us," said the engineering instructor somewhat conspiratorially. Why? Well, it developed that many of the students took jobs demanding government security clearance and FBI men were always coming around to ask questions. "All *you* have to do," said the engineer, "is remember what they said in those papers and I bet you have plenty to tell."

Such incidents virtually cry out that to humanize the engineer we must first humanize the instructor. We must make sure that he learns, appreciates and communicates to his students that there are many enormously important values in life that cannot be measured in micro-seconds or megatons. To do this, we must first arm the engineering teacher with an ability to relate one course and another, one course and the entire curriculum; the student-engineer, his studies, his future work, and his world. We studied physics and the laws of Newton but not Newton's impact upon the world of thought or philosophy. We studied Einstein without mentioning him or his work as another pivotal moment in the great tides of history and philosophy. ("It took me until my senior year to realize that physics is a branch of philosophy," one graduate of another engineering school has said. He was precocious.) We studied analytic geometry but not as a necessary preliminary to calculus; we studied statics but not as a preliminary to dynamics.

On the morning after the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, my freshman chemistry classmates burst eagerly into the classroom. We had been studying atomic structure and the nucleus of the atom and we believed, with the innocence of the young, that our professor would breathe life into a dull text by plagiarizing a few headlines. We were wrong. On the blackboard in the classroom, behind the smiling face of the professor, was the announcement: "We will not discuss the atomic bomb or any aspect of today's news."

It was a triumph of engineering education.

My own faint hopes for the humanities-type program are empirical. Just after World War II, my college began placing increasing emphasis on the humanities. In those days, it was my habit to accost my "humanized" classmates with the question: "Did you know that Ring Lardner went to school here?" They didn't – but they accepted this bit of intelligence with the engineers' customary expression of profound interest: "How much did he get from GM?"

A year or so ago, after the college had spent eight to ten more years in "humanizing" its product, I put the same question to the then-editor of the school newspaper. To my delight and astonishment, he *did* know that Ring Lardner once went to school there. He didn't know who Lardner was – but he seemed pretty sure he wasn't an engineer.

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Setting Up the Scapegoat

Who Is To Blame for the Loss of Cuba?

by Gilbert A. Harrison

For nearly 20 months a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has been holding hearings, ostensibly on "the Communist threat to the United States through the Caribbean," presided over by James O. Eastland of Mississippi. He is assisted by Senators Dodd, Johnston of South Carolina, McClellan, Ervin, Hruska, Dirksen, Keating and Cotton. How many witnesses have been called has not been disclosed. The testimony of only a few has been released, and that has been edited before publication. It was said that the investigation was inspired by Democrats hoping to embarrass a Republican Administration by implicating it in the loss of Cuba. But the gamiest parts of the testimony have been made public since Mr. Eisenhower's departure, and one searches it in vain for uncomplimentary references to Republicans.

Out of this weird jumble of inaccuracies, irrelevancies and plain absurdities emerges a discernible purpose: to pin responsibility *now* on "the liberals," not only for the loss of Cuba but for any future losses in Latin America – whether in Haiti or the Dominican Republic or Panama. From first to last (though the last has yet to come) the Subcommittee has used its investigative authority to muddy those who have not been willing to equate the national interest with business interests and who have stood against identifying the US with the maintenance of dictatorships.

I have read all the testimony one is permitted to see. It is ludicrous – and sinister. For if the President is correct, that things may get worse before they get better (and that applies to Latin America), we may soon be asked to wreak our vengeance on a scapegoat this Committee has invented. The whole of these hearings is a repeat performance of the drama about "Who lost China" – a fairy tale of sell-out by subversives, leftists and other oddballs in the government, the press and the Congress.

It is for this reason that these hearings are worth looking at with some care. And we begin with Arthur Gardner, Chairman of the Board of Bundy Tubing Company and our Ambassador to Havana from 1953 to 1955. He gave his testimony on August 29, 1960:

Senator Dodd: Mr. Gardner, you have been quoted as saying that Washington "pulled the rug out" from under Batista. Is this a correct quote and if so, what did you mean by that?
Mr. Gardner: Yes, I think it is a correct quote. I mean that Batista had always leaned toward the United States. I don't think we ever had a better friend. . . . He was doing an amazing job . . . When we talk about pulling out the rug, I mean there are a number of factors that occurred repeatedly that showed that the State Department did not want to have anything to do with Batista.

Ambassador Gardner's successor in Havana, Earl E. T. Smith, took a broader view of where the guilt lay: the Department was at fault, yes; but not just the Department. Batista, he told the Subcommittee on August 30, 1960, "was overthrown because of the corruption, disintegration from within, and because of the United States and the various agencies of the United States who directly and indirectly aided the overthrow of the Batista Government and brought into power Fidel Castro." This double-edged explanation did not, however, satisfy the chief counsel of the subcommittee:

Mr. Sourwine: What were those agencies, Mr. Smith?
Mr. Smith: The US Government agencies. . . . Certain influential people, influential sources in the State Department, lower down echelons in the CIA. I would say representatives of the majority of the US Government agencies which have anything to do with the Embassy.
Senator Eastland: As a matter of fact, isn't it your judgment that the State Department of the United States is primarily responsible for bringing Castro to power in Cuba?

Mr. Smith was reluctant to say that, although he admitted the "State Department played a large part in bringing Castro to power."

Senator Eastland: But your advices were that it was not in the best interest of the United States for him to come to power, and in spite of that then you say that the American Government is primarily responsible for putting him in power? . . . Do you agree with it?

Mr. Smith: Would you repeat that, what Senator East-

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land said please?
Senator Eastland: I said that your advices were that it was not in the best interest of the United States for Castro to come to power.
Mr. Smith: Yes, sir.
Senator Eastland: And yet in spite of that, of your advices . . . you say that our government was primarily responsible in bringing Castro to power.
Mr. Smith: That is absolutely correct.

Senator Eastland should have let it drop right there. But he was not satisfied:

Senator Eastland: As a matter of fact, now, wasn't it the impartiality of the US Government that brought Castro to power?
Mr. Smith: Wasn't it the impartiality?
Senator Eastland: Yes.
Mr. Smith: Senator, we are responsible for bringing Castro in power. I do not care how you want to word it.
Senator Dodd: Wouldn't you want to say the partiality?
Senator Eastland: I mean the partiality, certainly.
Mr. Smith: Senator, let me explain to you that the United States, until the advent of Castro, was so overwhelmingly influential in Cuba that, as I said here a little while ago, the American Ambassador was the second most important man in Cuba; sometimes even more important than the President. That is because of the reason of the position that the United States played in Cuba. [And then Mr. Smith concluded with a classic understatement: "Now, today, his importance is not very great."]

But the plot is still ambiguous. *Who* was it who was partial, or impartial? Mr. Sourwine reminded Ambassador Smith that Ambassador Gardner had said that the State Department was anxious, in his words, "to replace Batista with Castro." He wondered if Mr. Smith would agree. Mr. Smith did not agree. He was "sure that those who were on the fifth floor of the State Department did not think very highly of Castro." And for the next five to 10 minutes, the Subcommittee hopped from floor to floor.

Senator Dodd: Who was on the fifth floor?
Mr. Smith: The top . . . echelon. That is the mistake we made. Decisions were made on the fourth floor.
Senator Eastland: That is right; that is what you have said, at the lower echelons.
Mr. Smith: And the people on the fifth floor, which is the top echelon did not think much of Castro.
Senator Eastland: But you have said they did not make the policies.
Mr. Smith: I said the policies were made on the fourth floor.
Senator Eastland: All right. Now how did they feel about Castro?
Mr. Smith: That is another question.
Senator Eastland: Well, how did they feel? . . . They were pro-Castro, were they not?
Mr. Smith: The word "pro-Castro," Senator, is very strong. I think that they were sympathetic to Castro.
Senator Dodd: Do I understand correctly from what you tell us – let me put it two ways: One, the fifth floor did not know what the fourth floor was doing. Is that your position?
Senator Eastland: Yes, he said –

But Mr. Smith was going to say it his way: "I think the fifth floor was not as interested in the affairs of Cuba, until late in 1958, as I had hoped they would be . . ."

Senator Eastland: It means that you had no confidence in the fourth floor, doesn't it?
Mr. Smith: At times there was disagreement between me and the fourth floor of the State Department.
Senator Dodd: Where did Rubottom – where was his office, fourth or fifth floor?
Mr. Smith: He is the top man on the fourth floor.
Senator Dodd: He is the upper, upper middle?
Mr. Smith: No, sir. He is the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, and he sits on the fourth floor, and when you go to the fifth floor, that is where the Secretary of State and the Undersecretaries are.

The Department floor plan having been finally clarified, the Committee Counsel moved in:

Mr. Sourwine: Former Ambassador Gardner told us that there was no question – in his words – "that Mr. Roy Rubottom, while he was in charge of Latin American Affairs for the State Department, favored Castro." Do you agree with this?
Mr. Smith: . . . I believe that Roy Rubottom, when I first went down to Cuba, would like to have cooperated with the existing regime. . . .

Much more is said about Mr. Rubottom, who is an able, long-time Foreign Service Officer. He is pictured as misguided or indecisive but not as the villain. At any rate he is no longer on the fourth floor. He was made Ambassador to the Argentine, through the intervention, it is said, of his fellow Texan, Lyndon Johnson.

But if Rubottom was not at fault who was? *Someone* lost Cuba. Mr. Sourwine narrowed the hunt on September 8, 1960, in an exchange with witness William D. Pawley, the ubiquitous tycoon and former US Ambassador to Peru and Brazil:

Mr. Sourwine: Would there be, in your judgment, a valuable purpose to be served in pinning the responsibility on individuals rather than on a faceless "they"?
Mr. Pawley: I think it is mandatory, I think it is more than desirable.
Mr. Sourwine: That was the point I wanted to clear up.

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The point had been transparent all along. But "the fourth floor" is as faceless as "they." *Who* on the fourth floor? Ambassador Gardner gives us the first hint on August 27:

Senator Dodd: Do you know [William] Wieland?
Mr. Gardner: He was in the Embassy for a very short time.
Senator Dodd: What was his job?
Mr. Gardner: I think he was in the economics section but I am not certain. [According to the Foreign Service Record, Wieland was never posted in Havana.] But I mean – I can tell you – I was very glad to see him go.
Senator Dodd: How long was he there, sir?
Mr. Gardner: Well, as I remember it was only a month or six weeks.
Senator Dodd: And this was in 1957?
Mr. Gardner: I can't be certain of that. I know for instance his record, because a man named William Pawley, who was our Ambassador to Brazil, had him down there and got him out. He felt that he was much too – leaning much too far to the Left. [In his book, *Red Star Over Cuba*, Nathaniel Weyl misquotes Mr. Gardner: "Leaning much too far to the Left" becomes "much too far on the Left."]
Senator Dodd: In your opinion did he play any part in Castro's rise to power in Cuba?
Mr. Gardner: I think he had a strong influence on Rubottom. But I haven't any way to prove it.
Senator Dodd: I see.
Mr. Gardner: Just because I know the way he thinks.

How Mr. Wieland thinks was a subject on which Mr. Pawley had a lot to say later on. But before that, there was more from Ambassador Smith:

Mr. Sourwine: Is it true, sir, that you were instructed to get a briefing on your new job as Ambassador to Cuba from Herbert Matthews of *The New York Times*?
Mr. Smith: Yes: that is correct.
Mr. Sourwine: Who gave you these instructions?
Mr. Smith: William Wieland, Director of the Caribbean Division and Mexico.

No one on the Subcommittee asked why a totally inexperienced Ambassador-designate to Cuba should *not* have talked with Herbert Matthews of *The New York Times*. Matthews was one of the best-informed correspondents on Cuba and the first reputable American journalist to go up into the hills and report first-hand on the Castro movement. Leaving that aside, no one seemed interested either in checking Mr. Smith's story (though Mr. Matthews has said it is untrue and has asked for a chance to deny it to the Subcommittee – a request that has yet to be honored). A memo in the files of the State Department shows that the notion of getting Smith together with Matthews originated with Senator Javits of New York, who suggested it to Mr. Rubottom, who in turn mentioned it to his deputy Mr. Snow, who in turn said yes, that might be a good idea but perhaps it ought to be suggested to Ambassador Smith by Mr. Wieland. It was.

After some desultory and perplexing references by Mr. Smith to pro-Castro influence in the Havana Embassy exerted by "the Chief of the Political Section, John Topping, and the Chief of the CIA Section," Wieland is brought back onstage:

Senator Eastland: Who were those individuals in the State Department . . . that were telling falsehoods that were pro-Castro?
Mr. Smith: There were quite a few, Senator.
Senator Eastland: Who were they?
Mr. Smith: I repeat again do I have to mention names?
Senator Eastland: Yes. We have reasons, Mr. Smith.
Mr. Smith: Yes, sir. You see my point: I do not want to get people in trouble, either.
Senator Eastland: Well, I know that.
Mr. Smith: Because I do not believe that they are dangerous. If I thought they were dangerous, I would not hesitate.
Senator Eastland: I am not certain about that. . . . We have sources of information.
Mr. Smith: Yes, I believe Wieland, William Wieland, and that is as far as I would like to go in the State Department.

Mr. Pawley, about 10 days later, chose to go further, and without any prodding by the Subcommittee.

Mr. Pawley: I would like to discuss another case – I had a man with me by the name of Wieland.
Mr. Sourwine: You say "with" you, where was that?
Mr. Pawley: He served with me as Press Attaché in Rio when I was Ambassador there. . . . His activity there was of a nature that was displeasing to me, being conscious of this Communist problem probably more than most Americans as early as that, just having come from Asia and it was of sufficient worry, although there was nothing specific that I could put my hands on – it was conversations that I would hear, hear him have with other members of the press in press conferences and things of that kind – to give me a squirmy feeling regarding his activities, and I made it known to various officials from time to time – it has been a long time ago, so to say to whom would be difficult for me right now – that I didn't believe Wieland was particularly useful to the US Government . . .

No Senator is moved to wonder what, precisely, made Pawley feel "squirmy." Nevertheless.

Mr. Pawley: I told Wieland in the meeting of several people, "If you permit Fidel Castro to come into power you're going to have more trouble than you have ever seen in your life."

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Mr. Sourwine: When was this?
Mr. Pawley: This was six weeks before Fidel came into power.

[It is appropriate to interject here that in a conversation between a Washington journalist and Mr. Wieland shortly after Castro came to power Mr. Wieland expressed the opinion that the US had not sufficiently recognized the potential danger of Castroism. He referred to a document of the Castro movement that had come into the Department's hands and commented that "parts of it read extraordinarily like Mao's statement of the 1930's in China." He also said that "this is a situation of two gorillas in a cage. Batista is as bad as Castro might be." The reporter with whom Wieland talked has offered to testify. He has not been called.]

The Chairman: Mr. Pawley, you made some statements that a man named Wieland in the State Department had leftist tendencies. Could you be more specific . . . ?
Mr. Pawley: Well, Senator, I felt that in the area of press representative for the US Embassy there, that you needed a person who was completely in sympathy with those policies and those ideals for which I think the country stands, and my observation of Wieland at that time indicated to me that he had tendencies that were somewhat contrary to what I thought to be in the best interests of the United States.
The Chairman: Well, would you be specific, Mr. Pawley?

That turned out to be "very difficult" for Mr. Pawley; for, as he said, "these things are matters of degree."

The Chairman: Do you think he had a Marxist philosophy, I don't mean Communist now, I mean Marxist?

Well, Mr. Pawley didn't think he "could say that." Still, Wieland "had strong views that seemed to me not sympathetic to our private enterprise system, and the so-called capitalistic basis under which this country has prospered. . . ."

Mr. Sourwine: Have you any reason to believe that William Wieland is a Communist?
Mr. Pawley: No, I don't have any reason to believe that. I only know that many of these men, that get involved in this type of thing over the years that I have had any connection with, are serving the cause of our enemy, that is all.

That is quite a bit, but it was not "all."

Mr. Sourwine: You think he is doing this wittingly, intentionally?
Mr. Pawley: I have got to say that he is either one of the most stupid men living or he is doing it intentionally.

At this point, a curious and seemingly irrelevant question is introduced.

Mr. Sourwine: Do you know anything about Mr. Wieland's activities as a newspaperman in Cuba when he used the name Montenegro?
Mr. Pawley: That is all I know, Montenegro. He did have –
Mr. Sourwine: Arturo Montenegro, I believe.
Mr. Pawley: Yes; that is right.
Mr. Sourwine: I have no other questions.

This interchange took place in executive session on September 8, 1960. It was the first time the name Montenegro had been mentioned in the hearings. The edited transcript of the testimony was released on February 20, 1961. But on December 30, 1960, nearly two months earlier, the following appeared in a syndicated column by George Sokolsky: "And this brings me to the question of what will be done about William Arthur Montenegro, by whatever name he goes in the State Department. I have been told that the Eastland Committee has been investigating William Arthur Montenegro, by whatever name he goes, for many months and that this Committee possesses more information concerning him and his activities than I possess, although I doubt that, for I have the entire story. However, if the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee possesses such data, what is it waiting for?"

What indeed? And what has Mr. Sokolsky been waiting for, since he wrote in December? No further information about William Arthur Montenegro has appeared in his columns.

There may be an explanation for this.

There are quite a few men who have written on Latin America by the name of Montenegro (for example, Ernesto Montenegro, Daniel Montenegro, Abelardo, Adelmo, Braga, Carlos, José, Pedro, and Olivio Montenegro) – all listed in the index of the Reference Library of the Pan American Union. But there is no *Arturo* Montenegro listed there. And Mr. Wieland did not write under that name. The story is this: Mr. Wieland's mother remarried when he was a boy. Montenegro was the name of her second husband. Growing up in Havana, William Wieland was often called William Montenegro. If there is a Montenegro whose writings the Subcommittee had reason to believe were subversive, he is in no way related to William Wieland. Mr. Sourwine appears to have been trapped by a coincidence. But what about Mr. Sokolsky, who appears to have known of the reference to Montenegro in the hearings in advance of the transcript's being made public? "I have been told. . . ," he writes. By whom?

Mr. Wieland has not been made an Ambassador, but he too has left the fourth floor. He was transferred to a training school where he has been learning German in preparation for assignment in Switzerland. He ap-

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peared more than once before the Subcommittee for interrogation, yet not a word of his testimony has been released. Nor is it admitted that he was even called. Fortunately, the respect in which he is held by Adolf Berle – Mr. Kennedy's trusted adviser on Latin America – has been helpful. Mr. Wieland is probably safe, though scarred, despite the efforts of Mr. Pawley.

The testimony of Ambassador Pawley needs to be read in full to be fully savored. He has much to say about Wieland, about Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden ("involved in a program which appeared to be helpful to the Communist Party in Latin America"). And about himself and that is perhaps the most fascinating. Here is Pawley on Pawley:

"President Truman thought and so did the Secretary of State that I might be useful as an Ambassador to Peru because we had a very serious problem of an unpaid debt of $150 million and Peru had come into the war on our side as the first nation in Latin America . . . and I was selected as Ambassador for that job and I was successful in doing what I was sent to do. . . ."

"I made the arrangements with Franco that got us the bases today . . . and the bases we have today are 100 percent as a result of George Marshall's having sent me there to make the arrangements, August and September of 1948." [This appears to be pure Lanny Budd. Negotiations that led to our acquiring these bases in 1953, began in 1951 – and at no point were they conducted by Pawley.]

"I called Averill, who was Secretary of Commerce. Averill is a good friend of mine and he said OK, you can have the wheat. . . . I called Bob Lovett, the Undersecretary of State. I called Matt Connally of the White House and I said, 'please tell the President. . . .' The President or the Secretary called me over to the White House and said, 'Pawley, we want you to organize the Bogota Conference'."

Mr. Sourwine: Didn't you also have a part in organizing the Flying Tigers?
Mr. Pawley: Yes, I did organize the Flying Tigers . . . but Claire Chennault, whom I employed at the Chinese request, got the credit for it. . . .

He knew everybody. "George Marshall stated at lunch one day in the presence of several friends of my wife, he said 'Bill, the great problem with you, you were right 5 to 8 years too soon'."

Mr. Pawley had "business interests in Cuba, having formed the first Cuban National Airline which is still the only national airline in Cuba." He later sold it to Pan American Airways. He also sold the China National Aviation Corporation, which he established, to Pan American. None of these transactions is known to have depleted his bank account. He gained control in 1949 of the Havana Traction Company (Autobuses Modernos, S.A., Havana), and sold it before the collapse. It was beyond Mr. Pawley why anyone who is loyal to the US would attempt to undercut Batista or Trujillo. In his judgment, dictators are like any other investments – good as long as they pay off. The niceties of democratic forms interest him as little as the niceties of international diplomacy:

Mr. Pawley: Let's take the new Assistant Secretary [for Latin America] Tom Mann. [No longer. He too has been made an ambassador.] Tom is brilliant and could not be a nicer fellow. He wants to solve most of the problems of Communism in the Western hemisphere by meetings of the Organization of American States or of foreign ministers. I do not agree. [Later, Mr. Pawley was to say: "I for one, would like to see us withdraw from the OAS as an active member . . . and we would not be constantly under attack, as an active member, as we are now."] I would also disagree with Tom on the situation between Trujillo and the President of Venezuela.
Senator Keating: Betancourt?
Mr. Pawley: Yes, Betancourt. Tom Mann has excellent relations with him and would like to do everything he can to help him. But Betancourt has had a personal running feud with Trujillo for many years having nothing to do with Communism. One of his primary objectives is the overthrow of Trujillo, and Tom, I think has been understandably influenced by Betancourt's feelings. As to the Dominican Republic, I have been there many times, beginning as far back as 1916. . . . Today it is a beautiful little country that has accomplished more for its people in a shorter time than any other country in Latin America.

Was there no one with an unkind word for one of Latin America's most ruthless, brutal dictators? None. Indeed, if there is any doubt of the Subcommittee's intent to use these hearings as a platform to praise Trujillo and rebuke those (and they include the President and the Secretary of State) who would disengage from entangling alliances with the dictators, that doubt can be removed by referring to an interesting colloquy between Trujillo's sugar-fed friends, Ellender and Eastland (both members of the Internal Security Subcommittee) on the floor of the Senate on the very day, August 24, 1960, that Undersecretary of State Douglas Dillon was appealing to the Congress (vainly) not to allow Trujillo a share in the sugar-quota purchases we had taken away from Cuba:

Mr. Eastland: Is it not true that Trujillo has been a friend of the United States?
Mr. Ellender: I do not believe there is any doubt about that. . . . There is not one country in South or Central America which, since 1952, has shown greater economic progress than the Dominican Republic.

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Mr. Eastland: Did the Senator from Louisiana find that the people there were happy and contented?
Mr. Ellender: I saw no evidence of unrest. . . .
Mr. Eastland: Is it not true that the Dominican Republic has had more revolutions than any other country in the history of the world, and that Trujillo has given the country stability – something it never had before?
Mr. Ellender: There is no question about that.
Mr. Eastland: Is it not also true that it takes a strong arm to rule in the countries of that sort . . . ?
Mr. Ellender: That is certainly true in many instances.
Mr. Eastland: If it were destroyed and if a vacuum were left, who would march in?
Mr. Ellender: Another Castro, without a doubt.
Mr. Eastland: Is not Trujillo the foremost enemy of Communism in Latin America?
Mr. Ellender: I never met anyone there who so often and vocally professed his opposition to Communism.

John O'Rourke summed it up in his story for the *Washington Daily News* on February 3, 1961: "So the policy tug-of-war can be said to be roughly between long-haul ideological diplomacy, as outlined in President Kennedy's inaugural address and his recent state-of-the-nation speech, and short-haul bipartisan dollar diplomacy, with key men in the President's own party working against him. If the 'Who-helped-Castro?' witch-hunt can scare off opposition to what certain sugar interests want for Trujillo, the McCarthyesque brush fire started in Congress will have been well worth while. That is, worth while for them; not for President Kennedy's stated policy."

But there is more from Pawley. He of all the witnesses, most explicitly lends himself to another of the Committee's purposes: to equate the loss of Cuba with the loss of China. The theme is introduced very early in the hearings by Mr. Sourwine, who placed into the record a statement by John Foster Dulles made in January, 1953: "If we don't look out, we'll wake up some morning and read in the newspapers that there happened in South America the same kind of thing that happened in China in 1949."

Mr. Sourwine: Sir, during your service in the diplomatic services of the United States, have you ever had occasion, other than the one you have already described, to come up against Communist infiltration?
Mr. Pawley: Well, I think the episode with which I became involved, in which we had the loss of China, constitutes for me what I believe to be one of our greatest losses and one that in my judgment might be the inevitable cause of World War III. . . . Now, while I was in Chungking – and prior to that even, in Hangchow when the headquarters were there – I found young men working for the American Government and the Department of State whose views I did not agree with. They thought, and were so telling our Ambassador and also Stilwell, that the Communist movement was an agrarian reform movement of great benefit to China – that Chiang was too dictatorial and that we should align ourselves with this agrarian reform group.

Pawley then speaks of "endeavors to sidetrack" a memorandum he submitted to the State Department on November 7, 1949, in which he suggested that American civilians and ex-military officers advise the Chinese Nationalist Government, "on its efforts to save Formosa, Hainan Island, *and re-establish itself on the mainland of China.*" [Italics added.]

Mr. Pawley: It is my judgment, and I was in the Department of State at the time, that this whole fiasco, the loss of China and the subsequent difficulties with which the United States has been faced was the result of the mistaken policy of Dean Acheson, Phil Jessup, Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, John Service, John Davies, Jr. – did I mention him? – Clubb, and others.

This has to be nailed down too. And Senator McClellan has a hammer at hand.

Senator McClellan: Do you think those mistakes were all sincere mistakes of judgment, or what?
Mr. Pawley: No, I don't, Senator. . . . My experience in the Department of State has been a very disturbing experience for an American who feels that the security of this country is in jeopardy.

It hardly needs saying that hindsight is in plentiful supply throughout the hearings. Ambassadors Gardner and Smith came to Cuba when things were bad; they left it worse than they found it; they rake over the ashes of failure, looking for embers of foresight. Ambassador Pawley does likewise. He tells the Subcommittee that he thought Fidel Castro was a Communist back in 1948. But Jules Dubois, Latin American expert for the *Chicago Tribune*, has been quoted as saying that "Mr. Pawley has evidently changed his mind. When I saw him at Miami Airport in January, 1958, on his way to the Dominican Republic, he said then he didn't think he was a Communist."

Mr. Smith and Mr. Gardner were sure they had advised the Department (if it had only listened!) how dangerous it was not to support Batista.

Senator Dodd: Mr. Gardner, when did you first have doubts about Castro, do you remember?
Mr. Gardner: Well, I saw a manifesto that he had printed in Mexico, which stated his principles, what he was going to do. He was going to take over the American industries, he was going to nationalize everything. I mean I don't remember the words of this particular manifesto. . . . That, to me, meant only one thing, that this man was a radical. I couldn't tell how much of a radical.

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Mr. Gardner was confident that Fidel Castro's visit to the US in April, 1959, had something to do with Mr. Rubottom's giving "his consent." But the fact is otherwise. Castro was invited to address the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington by two journalists who interviewed him in Havana shortly after he took power.

Mr. Gardner likewise remembered that when he returned to Washington in 1957 the Department "ignored" him. But he later testified that he talked on several occasions with a number of Department officials – Secretary Herter, Mr. Rubottom, Loy Henderson, Robert Murphy.

Then there is this revealing, almost charming portrait of our man in Havana fighting the good fight.

Senator Dodd: What can you tell us, Mr. Gardner, if anything, about Russian and Communist Chinese influence in Cuba?
Mr. Gardner: Well, there is a large Chinese colony there. . . . We did know there were some Communists there. There was one particular instance. The radio station CNQ, was the biggest chain radio station there. And they had a known Communist as leader of the orchestra. And I tried very hard, and had many rows and fights with the chap who heads this organization, and his answer to me was that the orchestra had never been easier to handle, and he was making money out of it. That was his position. And the net was we were able to persuade two or three of the bigger advertisers not to use his orchestra. But that is about the story.

Neither Mr. Gardner nor Mr. Smith nor Mr. Pawley was ever asked to comment on other testimony given the Subcommittee on Communist influence, that of the Deputy Director of CIA, Gen. C. P. Cabell, on November 5, 1959.

Senator Hruska: General, we had testifying before us in open session some months ago Pedro Diaz Lanz, and he gave testimony respecting indications that Communist military supplies were furnished to the Castro forces. Can you tell us anything about the extent to which such aid was provided through those sources?
General Cabell: I could not offhand. I have not seen any information indicating such aid was given. . . .
Senator Hruska: There was also testimony with reference to submarines, Russian submarines, having been observed in Cuban waters, Caribbean waters and Cuban waters. Can you tell us anything about those?
General Cabell: We have been unable to verify any such reports.
The Chairman: What caused Batista to fall? Just what happened. [What of Wieland, of Rubottom, of Herbert Matthews of *The New York Times*?]
General Cabell: Well, Mr. Chairman, he did not have a sound base for his regime.
The Chairman: Was his army whipped in the field? Was he deposed by his Generals?
General Cabell: The army disintegrated. Its morale just completely disintegrated in the face of the growing numbers in the Castro movement. It became helpless. . . . Our information shows that the Cuban Communists do not consider him [Fidel Castro] a Communist Party member, or even a pro-Communist. . . . Our conclusion, therefore, is that Fidel Castro is not a Communist; however, he is certainly not anti-Communist.

Which remark, Senator Johnson of South Carolina interpreted as follows: "Is it not true that he is more dangerous than if he would come out and let them know that he [Fidel] was a Communist?"

Now, the charge of subversion or "softness" in the State Department, on whatever floor, hasn't the sex appeal it had in Joe McCarthy's day. Yet the fact that witnesses can be summoned to executive sessions and that a Senate Subcommittee can fashion the case it wishes to make by giving the press only carefully edited excerpts of the hearings is not a procedure that calls for complacency. Fortunately, the President of the United States is not unsophisticated and not a coward. Asked on February 16 whether he had "determined whether any employee of our State Department was responsible, or had any part, in advancing the Communist foothold in Cuba, and if so, will you take steps to remove them . . . ?" he replied: "I think probably miscalculations were made by our country in assessing Cuba . . . but I have no evidence that anyone did it out of any other motive but to serve the United States."

The members of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, on the basis of the record, have less evidence than Mr. Kennedy. What then is the explanation for their behavior? Do they lend themselves to this farce because Mr. Sourwine wishes to keep himself employed? Is it simply an appetite for publicity?

Let us be charitable and assume these are decent public officials trying to do a patriotic service. There *is*, after all, a Communist threat in the Caribbean. It is right that a Committee of the Congress investigate that threat with an eye to the possibility of legislation.

But if that is the objective, how is it that we have no testimony from anyone who could be said to be a well-informed student of the Caribbean? Moreover, if information that will be helpful to the Congress in legislating is the aim, why is testimony made public? Or, if it is made public, why not all of it, including that of Mr. Wieland? The attacks on him were widely reported. And why not call witnesses who may not share Mr. Sourwine's or Senator Eastland's views on what the threat is, and how it can be met? These are questions more judicially-minded members of the Subcommittee such as Keating, Dodd, Irvin and McClellan should be asked.

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The Old Man

Since I am already what is coyly described as a Senior Citizen (what's wrong, anyhow, with the plain, honest term "old man"?), I have no desire to detract in the least from Grandpap's reputation for dignity, sapience, prudence and general worthiness. I think that reputation is deserved, if you accept Grandpap as a generic term, referring to a class, rather than to an individual. After all, Agamemnon wished he had 10 men like Nestor, the wise counselor, not like heavyweight champion Ajax; and the world is still in the same need.

But now that the Senior Citizen is becoming more and more the concern of practical statecraft, what with old-age pensions, income-tax exemptions, medical aid and so on, it behooves us to examine him with a cold, clear eye, so that we may know exactly what we are doing. In most of the discussions of the subject that have appeared in the public prints recently it seems to me that this attitude of objectivity is conspicuous by its absence.

The American Medical Association, in particular, seems obsessed by fear that unless the new legislation bristles with restrictions the unworthy will somehow avail themselves of it. It seems never to occur to the doctors that it is precisely the unworthy – and, of course, the unlucky – who ought to be taken care of by society, not on their own account but for the relief of better men.

For let us face the fact: while Grandpap, viewed as a class, is a treasure-house of values, every class includes a minority of non-typical individuals. Grandpap may be the trunk of the family tree, supporting and fostering all its branches; or he may not be worth the powder and shot it would take to kill him.

Few of us have escaped acquaintance with at least one such case – a heavy old sinner never of any use to his family or to society, but with a remarkable power of survival. I have known such appalling old billy-goats to live into the eighties and nineties, churlish, ungrateful, unpleasant in every respect, riding the neck of some faithful son or daughter like an Old Man of the Sea, draining the vitality of a younger and potentially far more valuable individual, to the incalculable loss of society. And the female of the species is more deadly than the male.

Of course, Grandpap, as a rule, is pretty decent and doesn't require of his descendants anything more than they are glad to accord him. But the fact that he is decent makes him view with horror the possibility that malignant fate at any moment may make him a millstone hung around their necks. Fifty years ago, in a predominantly rural America this fear was less pervasive; for in a farm home only the completely bed-ridden are incapable of performing any kind of useful work. But in an industrial society only the able-bodied are permitted to engage in gainful employment.

Elimination of the household chores – splitting kindling, filling the wood-box, cleaning and filling the kerosene lamps – services of value yet within the capacity of old folks, was affected by the increasing urbanization and mechanization of American life.

Now no political policy is well-considered unless it is based on the realities of the existing situation. With all due respect to the opinion of the medical men, the intrusion of the idea of merit into our consideration of what is a reasonable program for the aged is a departure from reality. It is not the character, it is the existence of Grandpap that presents the problem; and when he exists in numbers approximating nine percent of the total population the problem grows urgent.

However, if we must give an economic problem a moralistic slant the factor of merit weighs on the side of a liberal policy. When Grandpap is what he ought to be, any intrusion, governmental or other, into the relationship between him and his family is regrettable, even when it is necessary; but the more hateful the old so-and-so makes himself, the more urgent the need to lift at least the financial burden of his care off the shoulders of his long-suffering relatives. At that, they will carry a load heavy enough, for there is no more rigorous exercise in the development of patience than caring for a kinsman or kinswoman who has developed all the gripes but none of the graces commonly attendant upon old age.

This is not a pretty picture and I am aware that the tender-minded will suspect that it could have been painted only by an embittered spirit, so I repeat what I said at the start – the typical old American is very different. Out of long experience he becomes a mediator and a counselor, a source of light and healing that may be worth more than all he did in his days of activity. But in that case, the best that his government can do for him will be none too much.

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Songs of the Silent Generation

by Gene Bluestein

Mademoiselle, the magazine which specializes in telling smart young women what the bright young men of Madison Avenue think they ought to know, got around to explaining (in its December, 1960 issue) what the "folksong fad" is all about. Notwithstanding a brief nod in the direction of anthropology and social psychology (folksinging provides students with a sense of "togetherness," it helps them channelize their feelings toward a "brutal and threatening" world), what *Mademoiselle* wants to emphasize is the fact that this generation of college students are "hungry for a small, safe taste of an unslick, underground world" and folksong, like pizza and popcorn, takes the edge off their appetites.

Mademoiselle's description of the college "folkniks" as a "student middle class" which has adapted "the trappings and tastes of a Bohemian minority group" is based on the assumption that the students draw their main inspiration from the bearded "beatniks" who inhabit the countless coffee houses which have sprung up around the country. But as Kenneth Rexroth has been pointing out from the beginning, the "beatnik" is the creature of Time, Inc.; it is an image calculated to encourage the popular view of the artist as irresponsible, incomprehensible, and "maladjusted." And, as in the case of the new young poets, the analogy is false.

Neither does the college folksong addict flip over the antics of commercial folksong groups which have become standard property in the stables of such bigtime operators as RCA Victor, Decca, and Columbia. (The Kingston Trio was so out of place at the first Newport Folk Festival that it did not appear at the second one.) The repertoires of these groups do consist mainly of traditional songs, but they are adapted, dislocated, expurgated or, when the occasion is right, turned into bawdy songs. Often the appeal of the big-name, night club singers comes less from their vocal or instrumental skill than from the patter *in between* the songs; the routines are second-rate imitations of the humor developed by the "sick" comics.

But the interest of large numbers of college students in folksong goes far beyond the limits of wisecracks accompanied by banjo and guitar. Even *Mademoiselle* noticed this, for its reporter can't quite understand what attracts these middle class kids to a music which evokes "the ideas and emotions of the downtrodden and the heartbroken, of garage mechanics and mill workers and miners and backwoods farmers" – a lineup of materials which reflects neither the world of the beats nor of the slick trios.

Here is where a little historical perspective would help. As Harold Taylor has pointed out recently, this generation of college students has begun to react against being treated like adolescents. If they have not been ideological, Mr. Taylor points out, they have been willing to associate themselves with non-conformist movements, despite warnings by parents and teachers that such activities will endanger their personal as well as their job security. The moral leadership for this so-called "silent generation," Mr. Taylor notes, was "established by the Negro students in the South who quietly and courageously began to assert their rights with the sit-in strikes at lunch counters." And as TV coverage of events in the South has revealed, the passive resistance movements of young people and adults is a singing movement as well.

Martin Luther King's meetings with Negro college students almost always conclude with a song – a popular one has its roots in the spiritual: "We shall overcome – Oh, Lord, Deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome some day." A Huntley-Brinkley special on the sit-ins showed students singing a West Indian work song which they had sung in jail – "Daylight's comin' and I wanna go home." The same program featured snatches of a song which told how the "cops went wild over me, and they locked me up and threw away the key." The words were up-to-

Between Canal and Power Plant

Between canal and power plant, the trail
Is white and glass-shot beaten earth, that walked,
Reminds the feet of feet suffering rock,

As the spontaneous fountain up ahead reminds
The body of other bodies pleasuring
In the cool flush of summer's amiable waters.

But droning in the wires charges the brain
With unfelt insulated shapes of shock
And forces to life what could not littler care,

A principle beyond the pain and pleasure
Risen where all with eyes may passing see
The fresh sign that spells a true Beware.

LEONARD E. NATHAN

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date, but it was unmistakably the IWW protest song called the "Popular Wobbly." Earlier, the bus-boycotters in Montgomery, Alabama, had sung, "Walk Along Together."

That spirituals, work songs, and other protest songs should figure prominently in the expression of students in the South is not surprising. What is significant is that the main stream of the song traditions that interest college students in general derive from similar materials. Almost fifty years ago, John Lomax told a meeting of academic folklorists that the significance of American folksong was to be seen not in transplanted ballads, but in songs of the miners, lumbermen, Great Lakes sailors, railroad men, cowboys, and Negroes. (A special category singled out "songs of the down-and-out classes – the outcast girl, the dope fiend, the convict, the jail bird, and the tramp.") It was a shocking revision of the academic approach to American folksong, for in 1913, as today, the professional folklorist tends to be concerned mainly with ballads, and especially the relationship between American and British ballads. But as Lomax continued to collect in the field the vitality of non-ballad traditions impressed itself upon him. With the help of his son Alan, John Lomax explored the prisons of the South, uncovering such singers as Huddie Ledbetter (Lead Belly), Vera Hall, Dock Reed; they were impressed by the songs of the dust bowl songmaker, Woody Guthrie, but especially by "the singers who have moved us beyond all others that we have heard . . . the Negroes, who in our opinion have made the most important and original contributions to American folksong . . ."

Long before folksongs became commercially profitable, singers like Guthrie, Lead Belly, and Pete Seeger were spreading the Lomax gospel on picket lines, at union meetings, and through the recordings made by quixotic Moses Asch, whose supreme devotion to traditional materials kept his record companies producing even when he had neither a large audience nor a source of capital. Through the thirties and forties Guthrie kept a constant stream of songs flowing like an underground river – about the dust bowl, hoboes, folk heroes (including the Oklahoma Robin Hood, Pretty Boy Floyd), the Grand Coulee Dam, New York City, mining disasters, as well as a Whitmanesque catalogue about America called "This Land Is Your Land." Lead Belly popularized such songs as "Good Night Irene," "The Midnight Special," "The Rock Island Line," and dozens of blues, including "Bourgeois Blues," based on his attempt to find housing in a Jim Crow Washington, D. C. Seeger, whose sensitivity to vocal and instrumental traditions is unrivalled, has been, since the early forties, a Johnny Appleseed, encouraging his audiences to pick up a banjo and make music.

Lead Belly died in 1949, just before the Weavers put "Good Night Irene" at the top of the hit parade, paving the way for a mass folksong audience. But like other serious arts in America, folksongs resist the mass production and standardization of tin-pan alley. (Lee Hays, who sings bass with the Weavers, commented that the success of "Good Night Irene" made tin-pan alley believe America was ready for a waltz revival!) Guthrie has become seriously ill and is unable to appreciate fully the response to his songs and his artistry which has developed among enthusiasts in America and in England. Pete Seeger is today the most sought after performer on college campuses, more often through the insistence of student groups than through promotion by official university concert bureaus. With obvious respect for his materials and the people who produced them, Seeger continues in the tradition of the Lomaxes, Guthrie, and Leadbelly.

This is still a young movement, composed of students who are filled with the stubborn idealism that permeates the songs of Negro slaves, miners, hoboes, and blues singers. If the Kennedy administration is serious in its proposal to recruit them into a corps which will work to push into new frontiers, they will respond en masse and bring their guitars with them.

"WHEN THE RUSSIANS *state that they have fired a 7.1-ton satellite into orbit or raised machine tool output 63 per cent; when the Chinese say that rice production is double last years', and flies eliminated; then the natural Western instinct is to believe that things are indeed so. Perhaps exaggerated — we all boast a little, don't we? But it does not occur to a Westerner that these words may be* totally *unrelated to the fact.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. R-2, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y., for free copy.

The Hurt of the Irish

by Patrick O'Donovan

You come back to certain periods of history again and again, fascinated, repelled and somehow hoping that this time the crimes and the blindness will not do their work and that the end will be less terrible. I believe most theatergoers sit in front of the curtain at King Lear hoping deep down that tonight the old man won't make such a fool of himself in the first act.

An Only Child
by Frank O'Connor
(Knopf; $4.50)

For me, there are two periods which can still hurt. There's nothing noble or purging in the hurt, it's a plain longing that the times could have been different and that things so tragic and wasteful could have been avoided. The first of these is the fall of Byzantium and the second the history of Ireland. In the first there is the overwhelming, inevitable and final tragedy in the breach in the walls and under the dome of Hagia Sophia, and in the second there are the long slow centuries in which the rulers formed the most charming society that the world has seen and the ruled survived and subsisted so that there was something heroic in the very act of survival.

Such prolonged and pointless suffering does not make for nobility and in the English speaking world only the Irish are continually and sincerely enthusiastic about the Irish. And not all of them. But perhaps because of the nature of their history rather than of any specific qualities or achievements they are accorded a special tolerance;

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the critical faculty is a little withdrawn. Other men may curse the Irish and even prefer not to employ them and yet keep a sentimental view of their race which has no parallel.

This sentimentalism has been a curse to Ireland. The world's view of a people for ever jigging and drinking, of enchanting light-hearted peasant bohemians who care nothing for money or status has died hard. Even the Irish in their grim towns and under the harsh social sanctions and demands of an all but theocentric society almost believed it. Only recently have a few dared to take a second look at themselves and announce what they saw. Only recently has it been possible to read and laugh at Miss Honor Tracy's immortal quotation, "Holy Ireland, me bum!" Such candor, as Miss Tracy found, can still be dangerous and yet it can do nothing but good.

Frank O'Connor never quite believed in Holy Ireland and today he seems to be a man all but drained of emotion. He left Ireland for the United States between the wars. He has quit his religion. Almost everything he looks at he sees through and there is only left this great love for a few individuals and an affection for the old country that served him badly. That is admirable equipment for the writing of an autobiography.

This is an account of Mr. O'Connor's youth in Cork city. (His real name is Michael O'Donovan; but, like others, he has taken against it.) His father was an ex-soldier from the British Army who drew his pension with reverence and handed on a respect for the Crown and Britain that took some weird forms in the boy but did not survive too long. His father was an intermittent worker who would take off on compulsive weeks-long drunken sprees. In the course of these savings, clothes, wedding ring, watches, everything would be pawned and the father turned into a hateful and pitiful brute.

His mother was an orphan who led a life of singular horror. At the age of 15 the orphanage sent her out to work in a series of houses, some unspeakable, some insane, one at least a place of real happiness. Her marriage, with its poverty and violence would have been intolerable to most and yet she emerged as a serene, imaginative and even – according to the photographs – a marvelously beautiful woman.

Around this crucified family of three, Mr. O'Connor has drawn his picture of Cork in the last years of the British rule. This is not a political book, but it does make it clear why the Irish left Ireland. It's a drab, deadly landscape, ugly and mean and peopled with characters, some mad, some saintly (they tend to slop over a little into each other), some evil and only a few hilarious. There is an appalling school. There is the suggestion of a clergy wedded to the status quo who manage to combine discipline with an indifference to the fate of their flock. And yet it's not written with hatred or any shrill emotion. Because this is an Irishman writing about Ireland, it's rich stuff, and words are used as a confectioner uses cream. But it is not romantic and it ends when O'Connor is twenty, already disillusioned, the bewildered sharer in a futile and, by his implication, rather cowardly skirmish between the IRA and the Irish government troops.

The departure of the British did not mean peace. Indeed the Treaty signed with Lloyd George was the cause of a vicious civil war – the Troubles. It was the end of illusion as well as the end of life for many good men. Whether by accident or not, the Troubles also coincided with the virtual end of the literary renaissance that had flowered around Yeats in the years before the war. Her best writers and playwrights wrote from outside Ireland. Her native genius quietened down. What comes from Ireland today is respectable enough, particularly from so small and strict a country. Her exiles do better, though some, like O'Casey, are old men and some, like Beckett, have been assimilated elsewhere. Mr. O'Connor is of the exiles and in *An Only Child* he is writing from out of his memory of a country as it was before the Fall. That country was no garden of Eden. His exile seems to have been a release. A book like this must displease the professional Irish, but because it has been written with love as well as with honesty, its offense is a mild one. And because of its subject, much of it is still painful, almost too painful for anyone else who cares.

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ONE of the first important results of the recent merger of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. and Random House is the combining of two of the most distinguished paperback series in the country – Vintage Books and Modern Library paperbacks – under the single imprint of Vintage Books. The Vintage series now includes such important authors as Camus, Cather, Faulkner, Forster, Gide, Graves, Malraux, Mann, Mencken, O'Neill, Sartre and Wallace Stevens.

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The Ides of March

A leader in a Democracy is also a follower.
A leader may fail—a public also may fail.

IT is the most cherished tradition of America that the voice of the people can and does make itself heard through the simple medium of personal conviction. But the conviction of a man willing to think has a different public value from that of a man who knows all about it without thinking. Conviction and opinion are easily seen to count when many are agreed and the issues are obvious, as in winning a war. But the faith must be in us that they count equally today, when America is divided and there is no simple way, acknowledged by all, to assure the perpetual forward reach of democracy.

The sooner we get over the delusion that the need for our disinterested common thought begins with a political campaign every four years and ends with the inauguration of a President, the sooner will the country be intellectually prepared to confront the realities of the 60's. Good will, high hopes are not enough. We've got to know. We've got to have the facts on which to judge. And then courage to express the judgments our understanding imposes. *The New Republic's* sole object is to contribute to the up-building of a public opinion so informed, so courageous and so alive that the promise of American life may be realized.

FOLKS and STRANGERS, these *are* dangerous days. With killings in the Congo, Cuba, Laos, Algeria; nations, suddenly born and struggling to survive; nuclear missiles poised to destroy distant cities and life itself; heretofore submerged colored peoples asserting an equality that can be denied only by eventual bloodshed; a worldwide revolutionary movement that would exchange one tyranny for another; and 5.4 million unemployed in our country – it is time for sober thought.

The New Republic makes no claim to having a panacea. There is no sign as yet of a Northwest Passage to Utopia. It claims to be not the arbiter of truth but a practical seeker after truth. And it believes that truth is to be found, not in partisan dogma, but in laborious experiment. Its method therefore is to face human issues as honestly and intelligently as it knows how, and to say as engagingly as it knows how: *This is the way it looks to us. What do* you *think?*

What do you think, for instance, about disarmament? about United States policy on Red China? about the kind of education children are getting? about the right of quality programs to a greater share of TV time? about the coming struggle over free trade or foreign aid? about how to finance and operate the decrepit railroads in the interest of the whole country? while there is hunger abroad and large-scale

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poverty persists in our rural areas? about decaying cities? about intervening in Cuba? about "sit-ins"? about nuclear test bans? about the best way to stay alive, and free?

What would you do about these things?
What would you have Mr. Kennedy and Congress do about them?
What would you have the rest of us do about them?

THAT IS the important thing. That is where public opinion begins to count. Public opinion is a highfalutin nonentity until it gets down to that particular variety of brass tacks: What would you do about it? Something of an order, isn't it, if you take it seriously? An overwhelming order, unless you are willing to be helped, willing to admit that you can be helped.

Not all of us are prepared to make that admission. Propaganda, posing as disinterested comment, has so tried our faith in the printed word that our first question is likely to be, "What's his game? For whom does he speak?" Not a cause exists but is beset by quacks, and long ago it was said that the corruption of the best produces the worst. Hence there is in progressive America today a vast amount of loose thinking, a clinging to clichés, a tendency to hope for the best and expect the worst and let it go at that. The remedy for this is still eternal vigilance, disinterested criticism and the willingness to submit every claim, by whatever authority, to a practical test.

It is in such respects as these that *The New Republic* can help those who are willing to be helped. Most of us read one or two local newspapers, and if we are fortunate to live in one of no more than a dozen cities, we can keep up with the news. It is the business of *The New Republic* to read many, to test what it reads, to consult in the nation's capital and around the world with all kinds of people who are observing or dealing at first hand with the problems it discusses. Thus it comes to its readers as a commentator and interpreter – a starting point for discussion, not the final word. What difference if you disagree? Burning convictions – and they are what we need today, not hand-me-downs – were never born without disagreement. We invite you to come aboard *The New Republic* for another two or three years, and to bring a new subscriber with you – for agreement and disagreement, for convictions and – for fun.

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Workers and the Surburban Myth

by S. M. Miller

Bennett Berger, a sociologist now at the University of Illinois, asserts in his admirably compact book that suburbia is not a distinctively new way of life, submerging its constituency in a sea of conformist goods and values; nor does he believe that American workers are becoming middle class as their incomes increase as they buy new kinds of goods and move to the suburbs.

Working-Class Suburb
by Bennett Berger
(University of California; $3.50)

He has studied a group of 100 Ford workers in northern California who were forced to move because of plant relocation. Their new homes were in a suburban tract with generally far superior housing to their former urban residences. How did living in suburbia affect them? Did their relatively high wages and new community lead them to embrace the "suburban way of life"?

Berger points out that the notions of suburbia which prevail have been based on a very small number of studies, and those mainly of upper middle class communities. But there are suburbs and suburbs. That suburbia – over-organized, other-directed and homogenized – described by Whyte in *The Organization Man*, by Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* and by others in a cascade of critical articles, is the (upper) middle class way of life, and upper middle class people behave pretty much this way whether or not life revolves around catching the 8:08. But suburbs made up of people who are not upper middle class do not exhibit the same style. It is class not community that counts.

Even within a suburb thought to be largely of one type, more diversity may occur than is commonly realized. For example, a survey that was made in an upper middle class suburb in Connecticut was expected to show that the vast majority of men were commuters and held Madison-Avenue, banking and similar positions. The surprise was that a considerable percentage of the men did not commute but worked in and around the suburb and held poorly-paid and low-prestige jobs. Yet "no one" thought of them in thinking about this commuting haven. Similarly, in the growingly suburban Rockland County in New York, average income is far below many people's guess because of the lack of concern with the sizable number of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, poor whites and manual wage-earners who live there. The recent study by the Gordons of Englewood, New Jersey, *The Split-Level Trap*, describes another suburb that contrasts with our stereotype. Unlike, for example, Park Forest, Illinois (the source of Whyte's data) Englewood suffers from a *lack* of organizations. If mother wants her daughter to be in the Brownies, she has to go out and form a troop. The tensions sketched by the Gordons spring from the lack of a sustaining network of relationships, unlike the "caught" feelings of the over-organized suburbs usually described.

Berger sees the criticisms of suburbs – so dear to magazines and social analysts – as "safe," similar to a commencement broadside by a college president against the conformity of college students whose specific non-conformist actions he deplores. Berger argues that instead of questioning the society which produces what Riesman has called the suburban sadness, we have been content to attack only the victims, ignoring the pressures to which they succumb.

The workers he interviewed do not have middle-class values and goals of success and advancement. For example, the top job most of the Ford workers could hope for was that of foreman, yet 64 percent did not want to be foreman. Nor did they primarily consider their homes as "status objects," as do many middle-class people. He found that a steady way of life rather than a middle-class one was the aim. The point he makes is that an improvement in income does not automatically produce a new way of life – which seems to be the economic determinist belief of those who have become reenchanted with the equity of American affluence. Nor, apparently, are workers deeply changed by having a little grass in front of and behind their homes.

But if workers who move to suburbia do not thereby become middle class, they are not a class-conscious proletariat either. Indeed, Berger castigates those radicals who deplore improvements in income and other conditions of workers as weakening the zeal for changing society. His challenging notion is that having cars and washing machines may lead workers to react very sharply to giving them up, even if the bare essentials are still available. "Relative deprivation" rather than absolute deprivation may be important to those who have tasted cake.

STUDENTS

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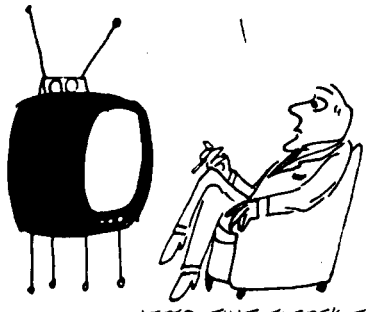
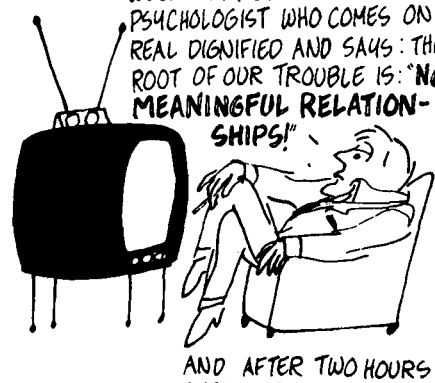
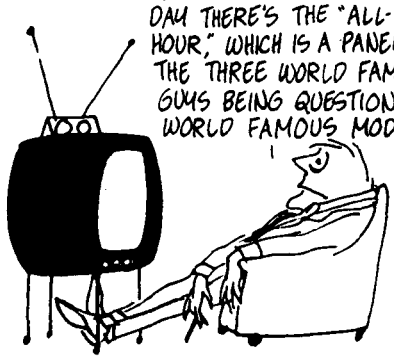
JULES FEIFFER

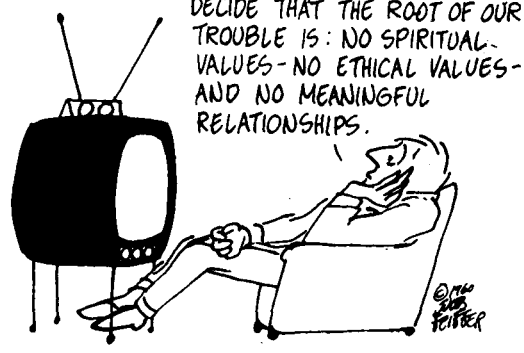


FIRST THERE'S THE "ALL-STAR THEOLOGY HOUR." EVERY WEEK THEY GET A WORLD FAMOUS THEOLOGIAN WHO COMES ON REAL DIGNIFIED AND SAYS: "THE ROOT OF OUR TROUBLE IS NO SPIRITUAL VALUES!"

AFTER THAT THERE'S THE "ALL-STAR PHILOSOPHY HOUR." EVERY WEEK THEY GET A WORLD FAMOUS PHILOSOPHER WHO COMES ON REAL DIGNIFIED AND SAYS: "THE ROOT OF OUR TROUBLE IS NO ETHICAL VALUES!"


THEN NEXT THEY HAVE THE "ALL-STAR PSYCHOLOGY HOUR." EVERY WEEK THEY GET A WORLD FAMOUS PSYCHOLOGIST WHO COMES ON REAL DIGNIFIED AND SAYS: THE ROOT OF OUR TROUBLE IS: "NO MEANINGFUL RELATIONSHIPS!"


AND FINALLY TO CLOSE OUT THE DAY THERE'S THE "ALL-STAR EXPERT HOUR," WHICH IS A PANEL SHOW WITH THE THREE WORLD FAMOUS OTHER GUYS BEING QUESTIONED BY A WORLD FAMOUS MODERATOR.


AND AFTER TWO HOURS THEY DECIDE THAT THE ROOT OF OUR TROUBLE IS: NO SPIRITUAL VALUES - NO ETHICAL VALUES - AND NO MEANINGFUL RELATIONSHIPS.
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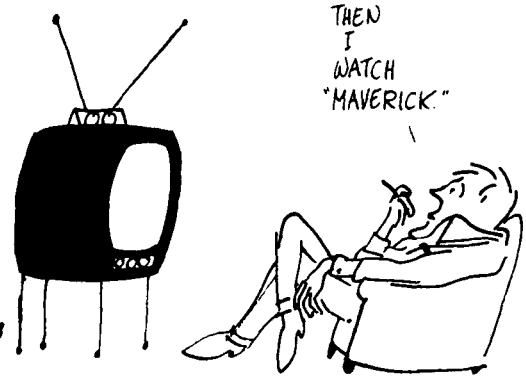

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TELEVISION

What's My Line?

The first impulse of almost anyone called upon to comment on television is to respond with the simple, and basically accurate, judgment: "It stinks." But you can not get away saying that in different ways every seven days – or can you? In any case, it would not be fair. For the second readiest reply to questions about television is also true. It goes this way: "Most of the programs are terrible but now and then they come up with something good."

The trouble of course is that the good stuff is overwhelmed by the sheer volume of triviality that consumes most of the industry's efforts. The ubiquitous westerns, crime-busters, situation comedies, guessing games, and variety shows that make up the daily fare of steady television viewers are as predictable as the commercials that distinguish *Gunsmoke* from *Gunslinger*. They are not worth the time spent on them by capable actors, entertainers, and home audiences. The are certainly not worth the time a reviewer would spend on them, or the time it would take to read the reviews.

So the question one beginning a television column asks himself is whether he has joined an already too large group of people who are expending energy that might be put to more worthwhile uses, like say, reading the collected works of Ethel M. Dell or memorizing old football scores.

At this early stage of the game it is a question that strikes one in broad daylight. Later, after writing the column becomes a habit and I get used to the added income, it will probably be a middle-of-the-night question, as it must already be for the supporting actors on the June Allyson show, the cameramen who film those vapid-faced teenagers on *American Bandstand*, Dorothy Kilgallen's makeup man, and other anonymous victims of the general futility.

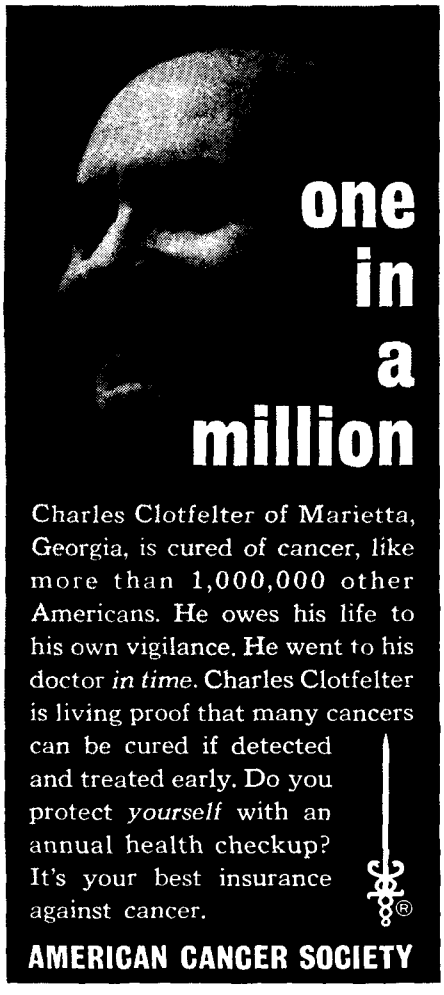
You can see that I am beginning this assignment with a certain hesitation.

Maybe, since this is the first go-round, it would be good to get some things out of the way, so you will know where I stand. I stand with you; I think that by and large the television people have been doing a miserable job. Moreover, as time goes by the programs seems to be getting worse. Although we did not realize it at the time, the dear dead days of the early nineteen fifties, when we saw three or four original dramas every week, watched Ed Murrow's first experiments with electronic journalism, enjoyed Sid Caesar's comedy, and grumbled about the Sunday-afternoon ghetto, were the Golden Age of Television. Like you, I had my gripes then. But now that television has come of age, how we would welcome back programming like that.

No one seems to know just what happened. It was not merely the influence of rating-hungry sponsors. After all there were sponsors in those days, too, and the lions of Madison Avenue, who capitulated shamelessly to the McCarthyite mood of the hour, showed no more bravery then than they do now. Perhaps the decline is due to the fact that as the number of television sets increased and listeners multiplied, there was a leveling off to meet the lowest common denominator of taste. The industry's guiding principle seems always to have been "Give them what they want." As *they* increased in number, the demands grew smaller and smaller. And the industry, which apparently has never quite realized that it is not so much that the public should get what it wants as that it will want what it gets, went along.

Now television has almost touched bottom, and unless something is done it may get even worse. True, we are forever being promised something better. Listen, for instance, to Dr. Frank Stanton of CBS: "The cultural advantages of television are of course, tremendous. As each year sees the educational level of the nation advanced, television has provided a new door to drama, music and the other arts, through which millions of people have that personal sense of contact with great artists that was formerly the special privilege of a handful in the upper economic groups in the largest metropolitan centers." But the higher the rhetoric, the deeper the product seems to sink in the morass. This year's programing was worse than last year's; last year's was worse than before.

There are people in the industry who could draw up an indictment more damning than any I could invent, people who know all about how bad television is but still believe what Dr. Stan-


one
in
a
million
Charles Clotfelter of Marietta, Georgia, is cured of cancer, like more than 1,000,000 other Americans. He owes his life to his own vigilance. He went to his doctor *in time*. Charles Clotfelter is living proof that many cancers can be cured if detected and treated early. Do you protect *yourself* with an annual health checkup? It's your best insurance against cancer.
AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY

WITH THIS ISSUE

John Cogley becomes The New Republic's *television critic. Mr. Cogley, formerly managing editor of* Commonweal, *is the author of* Blacklisting, *a two-volume Fund for the Republic study of discriminatory practices in the entertainment industries.*

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ton said about its possibilities and are convinced it can be salvaged. Such people, while they still hold out, should be encouraged. They have their finger in the dike. They take television seriously and they should be taken seriously. They are worth the attention that can be given their work in a journal of opinion like this one. For one starting a TV column, the knowledge that they are still there makes all the difference.

Before I begin criticizing them and making unkind remarks about their labors, then, let me acknowledge that they are the hope of us who have seen *What's My Line?* once too often, wondered once too often what was so funny about Spring Byington's remark that it should have brought on gales of canned laughter, and let ourselves be embarrassed for the last time by Ralph Edwards. Where there is hope, somewhere there must be life.

JOHN COGLEY

MOVIES

Love, Art and Ingenuity

Love and the Frenchwoman
(Kingsley)
Modigliani of Montparnasse
(Continental)
The Great Imposter
(Universal-International)

How could *Love and the Frenchwoman* fail to whet anticipation? It is made up of seven episodes said to illustrate a "Kinsey report" on the Frenchwoman prepared by the French Institute of Public Opinion; the authors of the episodes include some of the best who write for the French screen (Felician Marceau, Louise de Vilmorin, Charles Spaak, Marcel Aymé); each episode was directed by a distinguished man and one of them is René Clair.

In proof the film gives some pleasure, though not as much as anticipated and no revelation at all. I have not read the report (just published here as *Patterns of Sex and Love*), but this picture seems to have less relation to a new study than to old films. If it *is* related to the study, then just as Kinsey merely confirmed much that had been previously suspected about American women, so this study must support what has been shown about Frenchwomen in 50 years of French cinema. It seems that they are the same realistic, sensual, slightly cynical but tender *femmes* as always.

The unrelated episodes deal with seven stages in feminine life, and the first two episodes are weak. *Childhood* (directed by Henri Decoin) tells of a young couple's difficulties in answering their small daughter's questions about the source of babies. They even ask advice on procedure from the local tart. (TV tells you that you have a friendly neighborhood Texaco dealer; in France everyone evidently has a friendly neighborhood *fille de joie*.) This episode ambles pointlessly, as does the next, *Adolescence* (Jean Delannoy) in which a 13-year-old girl discovers kissing. *Virginity* (Michel Boisrond) treats, with some touches of delicate humor, of an engaged couple who decide to go to a hotel for the night, and it introduces an appealing girl named Valerie Lagrange. *Marriage*, which René Clair wrote and directed, is reminiscent of Dorothy Parker's short story *Here We Are:* a newly married couple on their honeymoon train. Clair's superb skill is manifest in the swift ease – cinematic, not verbal – with which he sets the scene and the way he exploits reactions which, being too small for the theater, are intrinsically cinematic.

As for the next episode, if the French failed with a playlet called *Adultery*, the world would reel. Henri Verneuil saves French honor and dishonor with a skillful if familiar sketch employing the beautiful Dany Robin and the impressive Jean-Paul Belmondo of *Breathless*. *Divorce* (Christian-Jaque) is the nadir of the septet – a weary idea

Encounter

EDITED BY STEPHEN SPENDER AND MELVIN J. LASKY

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(a couple divorcing in order to become interested in each other again) filmed with rheumatic spryness. *Women Alone* (Jean-Paul le Chanois) is an adequate biter-bit story (a professional bigamist who is trapped) with the attractively mature Martine Carol.

One feels in sum that this film has as much relation to life in France – no more, no less – as a folder from the French Tourist Office.

Modigliani of Montparnasse, the next-to-last film of both Gerard Philipe and Jacques Becker, is no credit to that fine actor and good director. It is factually distorted, monochromatic, and unvitalized, and it adds nothing to what has already been done in films about gifted artists whose difficulties have wrecked their lives. Modigliani is made virtually anonymous (it might almost be X, the Struggling Painter). In perception of the artist *vis à vis* the world and *vis à vis* himself in the world, it is not nearly as good a picture as the far-from-flawless *Lust for Life*. Admirers of Philipe and Becker will be unhappy; will hope to be consoled by Becker's last film (*Le Trou*); and will also hope that the French government soon permits the export of Philipe's last film, *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*. (DeGaulle, Malraux *et Cie.* ostensibly are afraid that this modernized version of the Laclos novel will reflect unfavorably on France, forgetting that their ban on its export hardly reflects favorably.)

Truth, said Mark Twain, is more of a stranger than fiction. Both that remark and the truism it paraphrases are pertinent to *The Great Impostor*, an entertaining film based on Robert Crichton's book about the contemporary adventurer, Ferdinand Demara, Jr. Demara, a man who never completed high school, has successfully impersonated, among others, a school teacher, a penologist, a professor of psychology, and a Canadian naval surgeon. In each role it has been revelation of his identity, not inefficiency, that has undone him. What price university education *now*?

Of course, what is missing is a report on how many of his appendectomies and repaired psyches have subsequently come unzipped, but meanwhile this factual film is amusing and, by implication, iconoclastic. Tony Curtis plays Demara and, alas, is submerging again in oily-haired prettiness the ability he displayed in a few recent pictures.

The film closes with a note that Demara is still at large. Presumably there may be a sequel.

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Correspondence

The Trust Suit

Sirs:

The New Republic is to be commended for its commentary on the recent anti-trust suit against the electrical companies; this, in marked contrast to the negligible and emasculated reporting of this issue by the bulk of the nation's press. The reaction of the American public to the largest anti-trust suit in our history has generally been that of mute acquiescence; and in the very *lack* of moral indignation there exists an alarming, if unwitting, sanction of the monopolistic conspiracies

T. Lawson Clark
Sacramento, Calif.

Sirs:

You too mention only Westinghouse and G.E.! For heaven's sake, please publish the list of 20 companies found guilty of price collusion.

D. G. Duncan
Cupertino, Calif.

The 29 companies were the following: General Electric, Westinghouse, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., McGraw-Edison Co., Moloney Electric Co., Wagner Electric Co., Federal Pacific Electric Co., I-T-E Circuit Breaker Co., Allen Bradley Controller Co., Clark Controller Co., Cutler-Hammer, Inc., Square D Co., Joslyn Manufacturing and Supply Co., H. K. Porter Co., Inc., Schwager-Wood Corp., Southern States Equipment Corp., Foster Wheeler Corp., Carrier Corp., Ingersoll-Rand Co., Worthington Corp., C. H. Wheeler Manufacturing Co., Kuhlman Electric Co., Sangamo Electric Co., Ohio Brass Co., Lapp Insulator Co., Porcelain Insulator Corp., A. B. Chance Co., Cornell Dubilier Electric Corp., and Hubbard and Co.

Sirs:

I am writing because of the reference to the electric companies case in *The New Republic* of February 20, in which you say "the story was omitted entirely from the December 8 editions of record filed at the Library of Congress by . . . *Christian Science Monitor* . . ."

We cannot altogether escape the indictment. But here is what happened: the story reached us on Thursday, December 8, too late to be handled in any of our editions. Our American News Editor conferred with our Business and Financial News Editor, and since we would already be a day late, we printed an Associated Press item on December 9 at the head of our financial spot news column, and ordered special coverage from Richard Strout in Washington. Strout included it in a Page 1 round-up story Monday morning, December 12, and a little later wrote a major full length story. We had an editorial commenting on it December 10.

Erwin D. Canham, Editor
The Christian Science Monitor
Boston, Massachusetts

More Money, More Learning?

Sirs:

Ten thousand orchids to you and Mr. Hertzel for the "More Money, More Learning?" inquiry (March 6). I have nothing to add except loud huzzahs. This question needs to be shouted from the housetops. One's alarm cannot be confined to the secondary school level, however. Aimlessness and banality seem to have got at least a foothold in the academic community on higher

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levels. I was appalled yesterday to note in the alumni news sheet from my college that that institution is being criticized by some of its clientele for "going intellectual." Alas, would that the accusation were true.

As an emerging conservative (*The New Republic* being the midwife) I find myself gnashing my teeth and throwing dust into the air as I read the entire magazine religiously every week. There's always the whisper from over one's shoulder, "Get back into the womb, you fool. It's warmer." But there's the *NR*, making retreat quite impossible. As I finish each issue, I'm never sure whether to invoke a pox on you or to gird up my loins and face the (sometimes bitter) realities of progress.

Thomas T. Howard
Philadelphia, Penna

Sirs:

Congratulations on Leo J. Hertzel's eloquent article, "More Money, More Learning" (March 6, 1961). For Americans to spend more money to achieve "a new standard of excellence in education," to use the President's words, is a splendid, and indeed a necessary, thing. But unless we are certain what that excellence consists of, the net result of all those dollars may be an intensification of the kind of educational mediocrity he describes.

It is not an overwhelmingly difficult thing to tie Federal Aid to some specific evidence that funds are being used in a genuine effort to increase educational quality. The National Science Foundation, for example, has operated with great success on just this principle. Isn't there someone in the New Administration, which has already brought more well-educated men to Washington than any other administration in our history, who will insist that quality, as well as price, be spelled out in specifics, not in hopeful generalities?

Thomas A. Bledsoe
Executive Director
Council for Basic Education
Washington, D. C.

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Community of Fear

Sirs:

Robert Tucker (February 4) maintains that the authors of *Community of Fear* discount current schemes of disarmament as well as present military strategies as a solution to the nuclear dilemma. Perhaps Mr. Tucker did not read the Harrison Brown-James Real pamphlet carefully enough. The authors stated: "The purpose of this paper is to inquire into the future assuming that the people of both East and West are willing to take substantial risks, that they believe that a nation can survive a large-scale attack, and that they continue to prepare themselves accordingly." In other words, *Community of Fear* is a projection of a continued arms race when disarmament has been rejected by both sides.

This is comparable to C. P. Snow's warning to the American Association for the Advancement of Science: "[Assuming] no agreement on tests. The nuclear arms race between the USA and the USSR not only continues, but accelerates. Other countries join in. Within, at the most, six years, China and several other states have a stock of nuclear bombs. Within, at the most, ten years, some of these bombs are going off."

There is no "very compelling psychological reason" to conclude that Brown and Real imply that we should disarm unilaterally, any more than there is reason to assume that C. P. Snow advocates bombs going off.

The moral we draw from *Community of Fear* as well as from scores of warnings throughout the world is that the United States should prepare with the utmost vigor to negotiate with the Communist bloc a step-by-step program of total disarmament under UN inspection, to eliminate war-making capacity in all countries. At the same time we should build a stronger UN, World Court, and international police force to keep order and settle disputes between nations. Then we would be ready to get on with the job of competing while coexisting.

Sanford Gottlieb
Political Action Director
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy
Washington, D. C.

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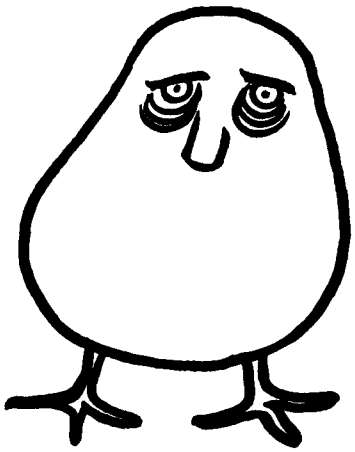

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- AN IMPOLITE INTERVIEW WITH HENRY MORGAN —the acid wit tells why he got fired from his nightly TV show, and rips into such subjects as astrology, phony liberalism, divorce laws, and his philosophy of celebrityhood.
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- REALIST FIRST READER—satirical primers explaining such things as telethons and the cold war to sensitive children.
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- AN INDEPENDENT RESEARCH LABORATORY—our gadfly in the advertising culture's ointment works far into the night, actually shaving sandpaper and counting coffee beans.
- NEGATIVE THINKING—miscellaneous heresies ranging from the poetry of Ezra Pound to the semantics of the soul.
- THE SECOND COMING—a fable for our time, wherein the Messiah must swim the TV channels, from What's My Line to The Ed Sullivan Show.
- AN IMPOLITE INTERVIEW WITH JEAN SHEPHERD—the iconoclastic radio humorist delves into such unlikely areas as the thought processes of unhousebroken dogs, the story behind the rent-a-beatnik ads, and the essential immorality of "Tea and Sympathy."
- CORE AND SURFACE—ranging from a three-way debate on Wilhelm Reich to a survey of dynamic neutralism.
- MODEST PROPOSALS—a column of Swiftian satire, taking such forms as a travel folder for the Dominican dictatorship or a handbook for employees of an oil company with operations in Saudia Arabia.

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